Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-93-193 *7 October 1993*

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Butrus-Ghali, Yugoslav Minister Discuss Sanctions

LD0610230593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2132 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] New York, 6 Oct (TANJUG)—The UN secretary general is rather pessimistic about the prospect of lifting the sanctions imposed against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia soon, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said after his meeting with Butrus-Ghali today.

"He is rather pessimistic about the lifting of the sanctions and he does not see the ways or possibilities of lifting the sanctions immediately or soon," Jovanovic said to a group of Yugoslav journalists.

According to the Yugoslav minister, Butrus-Ghali cited unfavorable experiences with civil wars in other parts of the world as an aggravating circumstance.

"Butrus-Ghali also noted that the international community firmly believes in 'bad and good guys' in the Yugoslav crisis, and that it is difficult to overcome this in a short period of time," Jovanovic said.

The secretary general, however, showed understanding for Yugoslavia's arguments and its contribution to a peaceful settlement of the crisis. Nevertheless, he suggested that Yugoslavia should not raise the issue of lifting the sanctions for the time being, because "it would not be realistic to expect the Security Council to accept this at present," Jovanovic said.

Instead of this, according to Jovanovic, Butrus-Ghali advised that Yugoslavia should appeal to the Sanctions Committee and try to accelerate and facilitate the importation of humanitarian aid, which has been exempt from the sanctions.

Jovanovic acquainted Butrus-Ghali, as well as General Assembly Chairman Samuel Insanally, in an earlier meeting, about the unjustness and dismal effects of the sanctions, stressing that, after all its peace efforts, it is "unjust to treat Yugoslavia as an opponent of the United Nations."

The two men also discussed prospects for reaching a peace agreement in Bosnia anytime soon, as well as further steps to be taken in this direction. However, Butrus-Ghali expressed reservations regarding the speedy resumption of the Bosnia peace negotiations.

In Butrus-Ghali's opinion, this could have repercussions on the crisis in Krajina, where "the situation could become complicated." Butrus-Ghali had gained this impression after talks with Croatian President Tudjman, Jovanovic added.

Jovanovic Holds News Conference

LD0610211993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1804 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] New York, 6 Oct (TANJUG)—Winding up his intensive several-day-long diplomatic contacts at UN headquarters, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic held a news conference on Wednesday, at which he again pointed to Yugoslavia's contribution and efforts aimed at ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He said that the reason for the imposition of sanctions against Yugoslavia is the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, the erroneous assumption that Yugoslavia is one of the parties to the conflict, and that the lifting of the sanctions, the conditions for which have all been fulfilled by Yugoslavia, can only be resolved in this context.

Jovanovic stressed that, during his numerous diplomatic encounters over the past few days, he gained the impression that most countries understand these stands and highly appreciate Yugoslavia's contribution toward resolving the crisis.

Referring to the crisis in Krajina, Jovanovic said that Yugoslavia has made a significant contribution to the formulation and adoption of the Vance plan, but that it is now up to the two warring sides—Krajina and Croatia—to implement it.

Jovanovic underlined that the extension of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] mandate in Krajina is of vital importance for the protection of the local Serbian population, which is exposed to Croatian aggression.

Asked by the Albanian news agency ATA's reporters why the rights of ethnic Albanians are being violated in Yugoslavia when they constitute 90 percent of the population in Kosovo, Jovanovic replied that Yugoslavia equally respects the rights of all citizens, including national minorities, but that human rights should not be confused with the separatist tendencies of certain political parties in Kosovo. He also recalled that a great demographic imbalance has been created in Kosovo, precisely because of the ethnic cleansing perpetrated by the Albanians against the Serbians for decades.

BSP Leadership Plenum Adopts Resolution

AU0510093293 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 93 p 8

["Resolution" of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council and of the Socialist Members of Parliament, adopted at the plenum of the BSP leadership and the BSP Parliamentary Group held in Sofia on 26 September 1993]

[Text]

The Current Political Situation

The comprehensive evaluation of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] expressed in the resolution of the All-Party Conference held in March 1993 preserves its validity. At the same time, the following new developments in the political situation should be taken into consideration:

—The escalation of the crisis in Russia shows that the authoritarian model of government, which is unacceptable for the BSP, as a matter of principle, continues to represent a potential threat to the democratic development of the processes underway in Eastern Europe;

—the election results in Poland show a loss of confidence in the right-wing forces and confirm the chances of the left-wing alternative;

—a process of increasing political instability that threatens the state institutions with the danger of an incipient crisis is underway in Bulgaria;

—the negative trends in the economy are being intensified;

—the state of health care, national education, science, and culture in our country is desolate;

—the living conditions of the majority of the population are steadily deteriorating; social discontent is justifiably growing, and a hard winter is awaiting us;

—the crime rate is assuming drastic proportions and forms; the judicial system is incapable of coping with the situation;

—urgent social problems, whose solution can no longer be delayed and requires resolute measures on part of the parliament and the government, are definitely emerging.

The state of the Bulgarian rural areas is particularly desolate and dangerous. (The BSP Supreme Council and the Parliamentary Group are about to adopt a special resolution on the subject in a joint meeting).

The BSP and Power

The plenum categorically rejects the attempts at spreading insinuations and untruthful statements about the BSP's real approach to power. The BSP considers the allegation about the danger of a so-called "recommunization" to be a gross manipulation. The BSP is not a restorative force, and, as it has confirmed over the last four years, it plays the role of a basic factor in our country's democratic changes and reforms. The BSP does not accept the president's unjustified interference on questions that are beyond his constitutional rights and prerogatives.

The BSP confirms its principled and consistent policy of national consensus. The idea of national reconciliation is widely supported by the public and cannot be determined by transitional changes in the state administration. The BSP rejects the policy of confrontation and retaliation as totally destructive to the national interests.

As a political force that is fully aware of its responsibility toward the nation, the BSP is striving for new opportunities regarding implementing its objectives, priorities, and programs. This can only take place through democratic elections. The BSP is ready to assume its responsibilities, without any hesitation, in accordance with the voters' decision, on the basis of its policy aimed at national consensus and democratic reforms.

The BSP and the Central and Local Governments

The country's situation is extremely grave today. In fully realizing this fact, the BSP considers as totally immoral the meaningless attempts of the right-wing forces to hold Professor Berov's cabinet responsible for the desolate results and persistent negative consequences of the policy promoted in the period of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] government.

The BSP and the Socialists in parliament shall continue to support the government, while intensifying their critical approach. The practical results achieved by the cabinet in the following spheres shall be the chief criteria for our evaluation:

—The struggle against crime, political repression, and corruption;

—the preservation of the nation's production potential and the establishment of conditions for economic revival;

—the alleviation of the population's extremely hard living conditions, with special care for providing sufficient food, heating, health services, social assistance, and adequate public transport conditions.

The BSP shall assist the executive power in its efforts aimed at consolidating the state, guaranteeing the national security, and restoring the people's respect for the state institutions and for a civic society. The Socialists consider any attempts at illegal influence upon the organs of the executive power by financial-economic and corporate structures as inadmissible. The BSP shall not tolerate the perpetration of discriminatory measures against the party on the part of the executive power.

Local government is in a difficult situation, as a result of the imperfect legislation, and because of its deliberate and purposeful exploitation as an instrument of sabotaging the government and exercising political pressure. The BSP representatives in local government organs should focus their activities on the solution of the aforementioned vital problems affecting the population's existence while

seeking understanding and cooperation with all constructive and democratic forces for the sake of this goal.

The BSP and Parliament

The BSP expresses its serious concern about the slow rate at which the National Assembly is adopting vitally important legislation for the country. Legislative work is deliberately obstructed and unnecessarily politicized. This factor is slowing the progress of the reform substantially.

The new majority that recently established itself in parliament has contributed to alleviating extremist moods and confrontation. However, this majority is not based on a common view of parliament's priority tasks. This fact creates instability and promotes political intrigues.

The BSP Supreme Council and the socialist members of parliament are convinced that the current parliament has not exhausted its possibilities and is capable of guaranteeing the legislative support for the government's policy in implementing its program and, what is particularly important, in adopting prompt measures for alleviating the hardships of the forthcoming winter season.

The BSP Parliamentary Group should insist on the adoption of priority bills, such as:

—a package of economic and taxation laws;

—legal acts aimed at preventing crime and corruption through a radical reform of judicial power in accordance with the Constitution, among other things;

—the most urgent social welfare legislation;

—legal acts (including amendments of existing laws) aimed at the stabilization of central and local government institutions for the protection of the nation's intellectual potential.

The BSP and the Elections

Early parliamentary elections are the most likely means of guaranteeing the necessary changes in the legislative and executive powers. In order to avoid premature elections, their date should be set with the purpose of accelerating democratic processes and reforms, rather than as a way out of despair or as a threat. Hence, the BSP focuses its attention upon the problems likely to emerge in the period preceding the elections, rather than on the elections themselves. We need sufficient time for the solution of urgent tasks, which do not tolerate any delay.

Sofia, 26 September 1993.

BSP Leader Explains Relations With President

AU0510153293 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 29 Sep 93 p 11

[Interview with Zhan Videnov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council, by Elena Trifonova; place and date not given: "Zhan Videnov Says: Dr. Zhelev Has Not Fulfilled Even One Obligation Toward the BSP So Far"]

[Excerpts] [Trifonova] Mr. Videnov, this summer you and Mr. Pirinski have reportedly been drafting a detailed analysis of the government's work. When are you going to publish it and does it mean that you are revising your support for Professor Berov's cabinet?

[Videnov] We are evaluating the past activities, the declared intentions, and tasks of the government as set forth in its programmatic declaration. It is a reassessment that should answer our own question on whether the government can cope with its most important obligations, or not. As is known, the Berov cabinet was the only chance of rejecting the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] policy, of stabilizing the country, and of promoting the most urgent reforms. This chance is reflected in the government's programmatic declaration. The time has come to make an assessment and a reliable forecast for the future.

[Trifonova] Does it mean that the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] is likely to revise its confidence in the government?

[Videnov] Naturally, such a possibility exists, but it was more important for us to show the government, the public, and the party that numerous opportunities have been implemented, while others are still awaiting us. [passage omitted]

[Trifonova] People are saying that the BSP has a chairman (namely you) and a leader (Mr. Lilov)....

[Videnov] People are saying all sorts of things about the BSP. The truth is much simpler, as usual. People, who are ready to assume extremely great responsibilities, more than is required by their post, and more than they would be capable of bearing under normal circumstances, exist in the leading organs of the BSP. The question of "leadership" is not the major issue in our party, at least not in the sense attributed to it by numerous other parties. As chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, I have all rights granted to me by the statute and all the responsibilities. This is it. [passage omitted]

[Trifonova] Do you believe that the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD], which is currently undergoing an ideological crisis, will have the courage of forming an independent parliamentary group either within or outside the BSP? As far as I know, the OSD is also working on a draft document that it intends to submit to your parliamentary group?

[Videnov] I would very much hope that the OSD will produce a draft program likely to be discussed within the party. The fact that the OSD is focusing all its activities on parliament is understandable, but suspicious. Independent political actions of ideological currents within the BSP, in parliament or outside it, are unacceptable. I do not believe that they will be very effective. The season of splitting from the BSP is over, as the Civil Alliance for the Republic [GOR] and the president recently proved.

[Trifonova] Do you consider the existence of GOR as Tomov's experiment at an alliance with the president?

[Videnov] By all means.

[Trifonova] Did the BSP make a deal with Mr. Zhelev before the presidential election campaign on nominating and supporting an inadequate team, after which Mr. Zhelev was supposed to fulfill certain commitments? Perhaps, I should remind you of a conversation between him and Mr. Lilov on the subject?

[Videnov] Dr. Zhelev has not fulfilled any obligations toward the BSP, so far, and this even applies to those that he assumed publicly. I do not know what kind of information you have, but I can tell you that the BSP people are not such fools as your are trying to insinuate. Our support for the Vulkanov-Vodenicharov team was, to a great extent, a result of circumstances. It was our sincere wish that Bulgaria should elect a new president at the beginning of 1992. In spite of realizing that our chances of victory were not great, we tried to increase them. I am convinced that, if we had achieved our goal, our country would be in a better shape than today.

[Trifonova] Nevertheless, did you not realize that Vulkanov and Vodenicharov were controversial personalities?

[Videnov] I do not agree with your evaluation, but even if it were so, the final result would have been more positive than the present one. The inheritance of 1991 is the greatest handicap in the country's present political life. It exerts its negative impact upon the government with its deviations in favor of the so-called "SDS Program," and upon parliament with its insane rightists, and also on the Presidency which is forever stagnating "somewhere between the velvet revolution and national consensus." [passage omitted]

[Trifonova] Is the BSP tired of ruling?

[Videnov] A certain administration syndrome exists. On the one hand, it is expressed in an excessively cool, apolitical approach to the problems of administration, characteristic of technocrats, which has its merits, but cannot earn broad public support. On the other hand, there is a fear of the resistance that a BSP administration is likely to provoke. Both aspects of the problem are related to the 45 years of the BSP's monopolistic rule, but we are gradually overcoming them. Society has already experienced another monopolistic and dictatorial government by those who declared themselves its ideological opponents, namely by the SDS. It is becoming increasingly evident that the BSP could greatly contribute to the country's administration. In certain respects it is the only political force capable of coping with certain specific tasks. The BSP is expected to get directly involved with them. For better or worse, we are confronted with the challenge of the reform in its decisive stage coinciding with the most difficult period of the crisis. We shall meet the challenge, because any other alternative is out of question.

Minister Dissatisfied With High-Ranking Personnel

AU0610205593 Sofia BTA in English 1712 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Sofia, October 6 (BTA)—"I hoped, taking over this post, that we would make a serious change to grant the future generations of commanders a military doctrine, policy, strategy and tactics that are national in character and fully acceptable in terms of Bulgaria's present economic condition. For many reasons, this has not been achieved." Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov says in a interview which DEMOKRATSIYA, the daily of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), carries today.

"I am not certain as to what extent a national security doctrine would resolve the problems of the Bulgarian Army," Minister Aleksandrov says commenting on the lack of such a doctrine. In the defense minister's opinion, save the military experts, all other members of the Parliamentary National Security Committee are absolutely incompetent.

He singles out the failures in military education as one of the major problems of the Bulgarian Army. "Before 1944, Bulgarian military science succeeded in profiting from the best European achievements, but this tradition was broken. Today we suffer the consequences of a servile imitation of Soviet structures, models and methods of command and training," Minister Aleksandrov believes.

At his proposal, a humanitarian block was set up to bring together education in Bulgarian military history, history of diplomacy, international relations, language training and marketing. The last stage of this programme is expected to train people for serious diplomatic, intelligence and scientific military activity, the defense minister says.

Visiting foreign military schools, Minister Aleksandrov has established that the Bulgarian officers up to the rank of colonels are perfectly equal to their American, British and German colleagues. "Our special units are at a good European level. But the high-ranking personnel is not up to standard," he notes. Most high commanders in the Bulgarian Army have acquainted themselves with NATO's General Staff College in Rome, the school in Garmisch Partenkirchen and the General Staff academies in the United States, Austria and France. About 100 Bulgarian officers have already been trained there. "We have been receiving many similar proposals but sometimes we cannot avail ourselves of them due to the officers' poor foreign language skills," the defense minister goes on to say. According to him, totalitarianism has left over a burdensome heritage in terms of personnel. "I am ready to work with any intelligent officer. I will not accept any political attacks on my approach to personnel," Minister Aleksandrov says.

He has information that now the army is under strong intelligence pressure from all sides. "Foreign intelligence services are well aware of what is going on in Bulgarian Army. That is why army training goes in parallel to manning the special services," the minister says further. "After 1989, when the Military Intelligence Service carried out a lot of difficult operations, there was no case of defection. They all returned to the country, though they knew they would be dismissed," the minister stresses.

"There are irregularities. When established, the culprits are punished," the defense minister says in reply to the

question if there is corruption at the Defense Ministry. "India, Syria, Algeria and Israel want to deal directly with the Ministry of Defense to the horror of a number of companies because in this way they would get no commission. We need hard currency to update the army and we are going to raise as much as we can in a lawful way," Minister Aleksandrov says.

Medical Workers, Miners Continue Protest Actions

AU0710063093 Sofia BTA in English 2029 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Sofia, October 6 (BTA)—Starting some days ago, the protest actions of miners and medical workers continued today.

The Podkrepa Medical Workers Federation proclaimed a day for national protest against the government's anti-social policy today. Over 50 percent of all hospitals' personnel have joined the protest, said Dr. Nikolay Kutev, chairman of the federation. The protesters are at their work places but take care of emergency cases only, faxes sent to the federation read. In many places, the protest is supported by members of another major trade union amalgamation, the Confederation of Independent Trade unions in Bulgaria (KNSB). Physicians in large hospitals in Sofia are protesting against the Finance Ministry's motion for a 10 percent cut of wage funds in health care.

The Podkrepa Medical Workers Federation is expected to decide on the further course of the protest on October 15, Dr. Kutev said. According to him, there has been no reaction to the protest on the part of the Ministry of Health and the Council of Ministers so far.

The KNSB-affiliated Medical Workers Federation is waiting for the expiry of the one-week term within which the Ministry of Health is expected to answer trade union demands, Dr. Ivan Kokalov, chairman of the federation, told a news conference today. If the demands are not met, the trade union members are going to proceed with one-hour staggered effective strike actions on Monday [11 October]. The Federation disagrees not only with the 10 percent wage fund cuts proposed by the finance minister, but with any budget cuts in field of health care. Medical workers also insist on being immediately paid the money intended for adjustment to inflation in health care.

Miners also continued their protest, although yesterday the KNSB-affiliated Miners Federation and the Ministry of Industry signed an agreement granting the payment of their July and August wages. "The miners' situation is still unclear which creates strong social tension," reads a declaration of the miners of Gorubso Inc. Supporting their colleagues' protest, they threaten with a mass strike unless the Ministry of Industry and the government reach an agreement. Gorubso Inc. is Bulgaria's largest ore and non-ferrous metals producer which accounts for 75 percent of the total lead and zinc ores output and for a still higher percentage of lead and zinc concentrate. It comprises several dozens of mines, flotation and lead and zinc works.

Without declaring an official strike, the miners at the Rudoserm and Kurdzhali miners (southern Bulgaria) stopped working. They refused to obey yesterday's decision to put off the strike until two months later giving time to the Ministry of Industry to solve the financial problems of Gorubso Inc.

The Association of Free Trade Unions in Bulgaria declared strike alert as of today, the reason being that though three months have passed, the Council of Ministers has not considered the association's demand to get acknowledgement as a representative trade union organization at a national level. The association comprises the Union of Power Engineering Workers, the Trade Union Academic Council, the Sailors Trade Union, etc.

Tobacco growers from the village of Venets (northeastern Bulgaria) joined the protest actions of tobacco growers in other parts of the country declared in mid-September. Demanding a rise of tobacco purchase prices, they set their tobacco on fire and warned they would block the Shumen-Silistra road tomorrow, Radio Shumen reported.

Dressmakers working for the private Bulgarian-Greek company Soni in Razlog (southwestern Bulgaria) also went on strike today. The reason is that certain conditions set out in their employment contracts have not been met by the employers.

Klaus Interviewed on Russian Situation

LD0510202993 Prague Radiocurnal Radio Network in Czech 1718 GMT 5 Oct 93

["Regular" Tuesday interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by correspondent Vaclav Musilek, place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Musilek] Prime minister, the dramatic coming to a head of events in Russia has brought about, despite the approaching denouement, a number of questions that concern, above all, the security of the surrounding world. There is also the question of who will hold the finger on the trigger that may launch a large number of nuclear missiles and other weapons or that, during possible chaos, control over them may be lost. Did Ambassador Lebedev [name and title as received] assure you yesterday that nothing of the kind threatened this time?

[Klaus] Ambassador Lebedev, naturally, assured me of this. We can have our own talks about this. It is perfectly evident that for us all, it is in our intrinsic interest that the situation in Russia be stabilized as soon as possible. You know very well that I am famous for always wanting to have talks. I do not want to speculate whether there should have been more talks or whether the interference should have been more forceful. I believe that Yeltsin and the government have selected a solution that they considered correct and possible at the given moment. Simply, let us hope that this episode has developed into a definitive stabilization of the political and economic situation in Russia. It will be a while before this takes place, but, let us simply hope that this brief lull will make it possible to continue for a while in a normal way.

[Musilek] Can anything be done to prevent a similar situation happening again in two years' time, can the international community help so that there is no permanent serious danger?

[Klaus] Well, it is very complicated to give help. The thoughts that were heard not only from Russia, but which I heard recently from Poland as well, from Mrs. Suchocka, whom I otherwise like very much and hold her in high esteem—I heard from her that the results of the elections in Poland are the consequence of insufficient help of the West to Poland. This seems to me extremely shortsighted. We must all rely on our own help and it is in this sense that world help to Russia seems to be very questionable and very complicated. Simply, in Russia a stable political sphere must be created, the government, equipped by the corresponding powers must be set up, the government which will be sure that it can govern for a while, that it can organize for some time the extremely complicated (?task). [indistinct passage omitted]

The rebirth simply must be organized by somebody, to do it spontaneously and passively without management and coordination would mean anarchy, chaos, disintegration of everything. Something might arise from disintegration, but after many decades, and the price paid by the citizens of Russia would be enormous. I see no other way out, but through the political stabilization of Russia, and all the help from the world without this, cannot come to anything.

[Musilek] In suppressing his opponent, Yeltsin had to lean on the power instrument, that is the Army, not a political body, that is a political party, because he has nothing of the kind. Could the source of future problems be encoded here?

[Klaus] Standard political parties must no doubt come into being. I know it is easier to talk about a small Czech Republic which one can drive round from, as if driving to Jablunkov or Uhersky Brod, but in Russia it is much harder. The country is so large that it is complicated for a few politicians to do anything. But it seems to me that the reformist center with Yavlinskiy on the one hand, and Gaydar on the other, they both have been striving for several weeks to set up a political party. [passage omitted]

[Musilek] Prime minister, will your planned visit to Russia take place?

[Klaus] I think it will. The question is when. I assume that they do have not much time in Russia at the moment for a visit by the Czech prime minister and I am not surprised. So it is not on the agenda today.

[Musilek] On the contrary. The Executive Council of the Civic Democratic Party has asked you to initiate talks between coalition parties chairmen on the territorial arrangement. Do you think that there will be a consensus here as to the contents and speed of the management of the territorial administrative division, that is understanding it in two phases? [rest of question indistinct].

[Klaus] This consensus is not sought easily because this question has two dimensions and two levels. It is even stronger in this matter than in standard problems that we have. There exists the factual level and there is the political level. In my view, the factual solution—if we lived in a vacuum, if we were in a test laboratory—the factual solution could be found, a solution that would be wise, economical, that would keep the number of bureaucratic officials at bay. [passage omitted]

The actual matter, however, has a very strong political dimension because the possibility of any territorial change, new territorial arrangement, naturally, appeals to the opposition which did not succeed in the elections. The opposition thinks that it could possibly succeed in some other elections to other bodies. So, for the opposition, speedy completion of territorial arrangement and regional self-administration is nothing else but a call for an early election. Possibly, nobody else has expressed it this openly yet, but I think that it is the word which could and should be used.

President Havel Praises Yeltsin's Courage

AU0610164093 Prague CTK in English 1222 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] Prague, Oct 4 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel today praised the courage and resolve with which

Boris Yeltsin and his colleagues set themselves against the forces which threatened the reform processes in Russia.

This is a clash between those whose goal is democracy, and those who have decided to fight under the red flags for the return of the old order at the price of bloodshed and human sacrifice. It will be necessary in the future to praise the behavior of everyone who attempts to strengthen democracy, reform and stability in Russia, presidential spokesman Ladislav Spacek quoted Havel as saying.

Klaus Reacts to Article by British Prime Minister

AU0510153093 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 1 Oct 93 pp 1, 12

[Article by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus: "John Major on Europe"]

[Text] For a long time it has seemed—or, at least, this appears to have been the prevailing view—that the European integrative processes are of a completely unidirectional, linear, even nonchalantly relaxed nature; that the "end of history" is nigh; that the processes initiated heretofore will run their course until the very end; that more integration is better than less integration; that integrating quickly is better than integrating slowly; that to say anything against the almost spontaneous dynamism of this process is blasphemous; that whoever does not want a united Europe on an institutionalized Brussels basis, wants another Sarajevo, right-wing extremism, Le Pen, and so on, and so on.

I have been saying again and again for the past three years that it is necessary to take a look at all of this through a fresh pair of eyes, the eyes of the mid-90's of the twentieth century, and to do so with a single purpose—to create a European Community that would be truly representative of the interests of all Europeans. A probing discussion on this subject in the Czech Republic is somewhat premature. After November 1989, we—for a while—flirted with the idea of building bridges between the East and West and to present ourselves to it as the exponent of something absolutely original, but we soon realized that this was not right and that we would have enough work to do at home and that we must put our "own house" in order before we set out for the "European home." Successes in transforming our society and economy and our overall political stability, however, are rapidly leading to a time when domestic discussions of this type are fully warranted.

A leading British weekly, THE ECONOMIST, which rarely publishes signed texts, last week published a long article by British Prime Minister John Major on Europe. I think this article necessitates a detailed commentary—since our professional foreign policy commentators did not immediately provide one themselves.

Major considers current conventional thinking to be erroneous. He rejects the views that "the fault of Maastricht lay in not going far enough," that "economic problems require corporatist solutions that the free market cannot supply," that "instability, East and West, requires faster progress towards integration," and that Europe's "full federation is the grand vision of the future around which public opinion can unite" all Europeans.

Therefore, he thinks it is necessary to look at the European Community from a new and fresh point of view, since the time has come "to put away the old slogans, dreams, and prejudices." "The structures and strategies envisaged in the Treaty of Rome are the product of Europe in the 1950's," but "the new mood in Europe demands a new approach," because "the new mood reflects new realities."

"The Treaty of Rome is not a creed. It is an instrument. We must tune it to the times."

These are strong statements. John Major also rejects a "false transatlantic analogy" from which the endeavor "to create a United States of Europe" evolves, he does not like the centralizing tendencies, and says that "for us, the nation state is here to stay." As far as he is concerned, it is clear that "the European Community will remain a union of sovereign national states. This is what its peoples want: To take decisions through their own parliaments. They want to protect their way of life, their cultural differences, and their national traditions." "It is for nations to build Europe, not for Europe to attempt to supersede nations."

John Major also uses relatively strong language with reference to his counterparts on the continent. "I hope my fellow heads of government will resist the temptation to recite the mantra of full economic and monetary union as if nothing had changed." He himself considers economic and monetary union to be unworkable at the moment and even as something that is "not relevant to our economic difficulties." Nor did he forget to remind the Brussels bureaucrats that "this is an historic agenda. And it is for Europe's leaders, not its bureaucrats. The heads of government should give a stronger lead... the commission should get on with implementing that agenda. No decision should be made in Brussels that can better be made at the national or local level."

These are all things that we understand, with which we concur, and that we ourselves say. In my Frankfurt address (January 1993), I said the following: "Europe was never based on pan-European unity, on a colossal European state, and it never did it any good whenever someone attempted—whether under some kind of ideology—to unite it. Europe was never based on eliminating differences, on centralism, and it never found the Archimedes point from which everything can be derived. Europe's strength and meaning lie in its multifariousness." Therefore, I very much welcome Major's statement that the "Community institutions do not have a monopoly on European cooperation" and that "the challenge for the present generation of European politicians is to build a community for Europe as a whole."

We respect his view that "not even the most advanced countries of Central and East Europe are yet ready for membership," but we would like to be involved and to state our opinion on this. I hope that another round of this much needed discussion has been initiated by Major's text.

Zieleniec Comments on Relations With Germany

AU0610100093 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 4 Oct 93 p 8

[Report by "sla": "Minister Zieleniec on Relations With Germany"]

[Text] Cesky Krumlov—At a meeting with citizens during the recent commemorations of the anniversary of the Munich Agreement, Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec stated that it was a good opportunity for reflection. The period of a divided Germany that played only a secondary role in Europe has ended. Following unification, Germany is returning to the logic of its history and its traditional interests in Eastern Europe. Even the Germans are concerned today with the problem of whether Germany will be European or Europe will be German. This leads the foreign minister to the observation that there is no need to react to every word of the internal German discussion with panic or extreme statements. After all, the several centuries of coexistence also had its good aspects, Zieleniec emphasized. Today, according to him, relations can, for the first time, be on an equal basis. For this, however, mechanisms that are not in keeping with the times must be overcome on both sides. The minister continued by saying that World War II is a closed chapter, and it cannot be only partially opened. Otherwise, the whole issue would be open, and that could mean the destabilization of power in Europe.

Ruml Interviewed on Readmission Treaty

AU0610105593 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 4 Oct 93 p 8

[Interview with Interior Minister Jan Ruml by "(hop)"-signed reporter: "Long After the Pardubice Horse Race"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[LIDOVE NOVINY] The Constitutional Court abolished any exceptions to the screening law. According to your recent statement, there are some 30 people at the Interior Ministry who were granted such an exception. Will these people have to leave the ministry?

[Ruml] First, I have to stress that this decision by the Federal Constitutional Court does not apply to the Czech Interior Ministry. However, I can assure you that we are not granting any exceptions to the screening law.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] You had a meeting with German Interior Minister Kanther. No agreement was reached that the readmission treaty should be signed. Why?

[Ruml] We could not reach agreement as to what the content of the treaty should be. The German side is making big claims which we are expected to satisfy, but I am tough in that respect.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] You have started a chain of meetings between the Civic Democratic Party and the people. Does that mean that you will be engaged in the communal election campaign?

[Ruml] It is an open secret that I have been appointed campaign leader for the Civic Democratic Party in the communal elections in Prague.

Kocarnik Discusses Budget-Related Issues

AU0410173993 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Sep 93 pp 1, 18

[Interview with Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik by Pavel Paral; place and date not given: "We Envisage Wage Increases of Around 12 Percent"]

[Text] [Paral] What kind of wages development is envisaged in the state budget?

[Kocarnik] We envisage wage increases of around 12 percent.

[Paral] This, however, reflects a very low increase in real wages.

[Kocarnik] I expect that wages development—just like this year—will be higher than reflected in the growth in real wages.

[Paral] In your opinion, why does the budget have to be balanced?

[Kocarnik] This is a question of the Czech Republic's current economic situation and also of our theoretical and philosophical approach. For centuries the view has prevailed—in households too—that being in debt is irresponsible. Economic theory proceeded from this premise, but Keynes made a breakthrough in it. According to him, in a downward economic cycle, additional state expenditure is necessary with the proviso that, when there is a turnabout in economic development, it is returned to the state. However, this never happened in reality. The economy became used to a budget deficit and the result was that budget deficits were constantly being drafted. Now the governments of advanced countries have major problems with this. When I studied this issue, I came to the conclusion that it is essential to adopt the same responsible attitude toward managing the state budget as people adopt in their households. That is, the state should only spend what it earns and the budget should be managed without a deficit.

[Paral] The debts of advanced European states usually amount to around 40 percent and more of the gross domestic product. Our debt is 17 percent, but we would like to have 10 percent.

[Kocarnik] I generally feel we do not have to copy everything in advanced states, because not everything there is good. The level of debt of these economies is a result of specific historical developments, but we have to take into consideration that various populist preelection promises played a role in this.

It is also necessary to realize that the rising—or rather, the high—level of state debt limits the decision-making freedom of future generations. It is certainly impossible to

overlook the fact that budget deficits are also behind the breakdowns and problems in the functioning of the European Monetary System.

For this reason, among other things, the governments of these countries—despite the fact that they are in recession—are under great pressure from the IMF to reduce their budget deficits.

[Paral] A 2- to 3-percent growth is expected in the economy next year, which, compared with the decline so far, is not much. Do you think it is possible for the economy to grow further without stimulating this growth, for instance, at the risk of a state budget deficit?

[Kocarnik] The government is stimulating economic development. We want to stimulate it, first and foremost, by reducing taxation. This is contained in the draft budget. Since you used a figure relating to the gross domestic product, I included figures in the material on the budget showing that we would like to achieve a 41-percent expenditure share in the gross domestic product, which is nothing more than a means to reduce taxation. We also want to create systemic conditions for supporting exports, not by giving subsidies to this or that exporter, but by providing money for export insurance and to cover the differences between domestic and foreign interest rates. This conforms to the market and no one can criticize us, for example, for dumping. At the same time, we are making our exporters' entry into foreign markets easier.

Apart from this, certain expenditure—although not a huge amount—has been included in the budget for investing in the private sector. After allowing for inflation, it is 2-3 percent higher. We would like to assist in constructing highways this way.

[Paral] Nevertheless, this expenditure is limited by the government's insistence on a balanced budget.

[Kocarnik] I am absolutely convinced that being constantly in debt is an expression of irresponsibility on the part of the manager, both in the family and in the state. We must not forget that a deficit or a balanced budget is a choice between inflation and growth. Liberal economists prefer long-term low inflation as a basic condition for economic growth.

Apart from this, the size of the money supply cake is limited, and the larger the state budget deficit slice, the less there is for credits for businesses and newly established private businessmen. Moreover, if we were to draft a deficit budget, we should be certain that the state allocates and divides these resources better than the private businessman.

[Paral] You mentioned support for exports. However, the export insurance company has been operating for more than a year and, in view of the shortage of funds, it has not yet achieved very much.

[Kocarnik] I think the Export Guarantee and Insurance Agency (EGAP) has achieved more than a little. Nevertheless, it is true that the resources that we can devote to this activity are limited. Perhaps resources should have been given to support exports instead of debts being written off and the banks' capital being augmented to the tune of 50 billion korunas [Kc] from the National Property Fund under Czechoslovak conditions.

[Paral] I agree. But we know this today; we did not know it then.

[Kocarnik] Some of us knew it.

[Paral] You are reducing the tax burden. Are you convinced that the resources released into the economy in this manner will be allocated better than if you were to use them to support investment, construct highways, and so on? Instead of flowing into investment, will this money not flow into consumption?

[Kocarnik] I do not think it would be better to follow this path. Lowering taxes is an economically purer method. The same conditions are given to everyone. Of course, you may be right and especially now, when the entrepreneurial world has a great deal to learn, the tax reductions may also be projected into consumption.

[Paral] Why would you not rather put the money into highways or telecommunications?

[Kocarnik] It has now been decided that we will.

[Paral] How much?

[Kocarnik] We will give as much as is needed and as much as we have. The estimate we arrived at with the Transportation Ministry refers to 200-300 km of highway before the year 2000, and, therefore, we have drafted the budget in such a way that 40 km of highway can be constructed each year. Next year's budget will contain more than Kc4.0 billion for highways and I think that it is enough. It is impossible to plan more construction in 1994. However, these highways require not only money but also something else. For example, a law has to be drafted—as is the case abroad—making it possible to purchase the land for each project of this kind. We can see the kind of problems caused by the lack of such a law in the construction of the Plzen highway. The land owners are hampering the purchases and often do not know what they want for the land.

[Paral] Subsidies for agricultural enterprises should decline in real terms next year. Will this not threaten agriculture?

[Kocarnik] I consider the subsidies granted to agriculture since 1991 to be an extremely bad example of how to dispose of taxpayers' money. When I requested an analysis showing how these subsidies were utilized, I never received one, either from Minister Kubat or from the current agriculture minister. So, in this situation, releasing large amounts of money into agriculture is very problematic. The situation may be improved by the Support and Guarantee Fund once it gets off the ground. It can subsidize interest, make the entry of long-term capital into agriculture possible, and so on. I think the Market Regulation Fund has helped agriculture.

[Paral] You talked about the relationship between inflation and growth. Do you not think that the planned single-digit inflation for next year is a luxury for an economy in recession and facing restructuralization?

[Kocarnik] Even 9.0-percent inflation is rather high.

[Paral] The issue will not only involve normal inflation. Prices will shift because of consumer tax adjustments, increased rents, and so on.

[Kocarnik] This will account for 2.0 percent of this 9.0 percent, and, even then, such inflation is relatively high. This is about twice as much as in normal periods when the economy is not undergoing any more significant changes.

[Paral] The influence of the budget on inflation, however, does not have to be great in a situation where the enterprises do not pay one another but grant one another illegal credit amounting to roughly Kc150 billion, in fact, a situation where they are printing money.

[Kocarnik] We have to say one thing. Enterprises that do not adhere to the terms of payment applied in the past are considered to be enterprises that do not pay. In a situation in which we have no terms of payment and the customer agrees with the supplier on the repayment period, insolvency does not come into question. A large part of the insolvency documented so far is not real insolvency and the overall figure is not so grim. Moreover, a more profound analysis of the relationship between this insolvency and the amount of money in circulation would certainly merit greater attention.

[Paral] In order for the enterprises to be able to grant business credit in this manner, they need their own capital, but the state drew this from them under the previous regime. Now the money from the National Property Fund, which should serve to complete the financing of the enterprises, is to be used to repay the interest on the state debt.

[Kocarnik] This is another mystery beginning to unfold. The Fund should contain capital amounting to Kc300 billion. If the state budget utilized Kc9.5 billion of this amount this year and if it utilizes Kc18.3 billion next year, then this is a very mild policy in dealing with the Fund's resources. This Kc300 billion is money that the Fund got from the sale of state enterprises and from shares, which it can sell.

As far as this refinancing is concerned, the previous regime created many debts, which are partially visible and partially invisible. We have some of them in the state liabilities, some at home, and some abroad. The invisible debts are bad credits granted without the basic criteria of returnability. Some of them have been taken over by the Konsolidacni banka [Consolidation Bank]. The enterprises will repay some of these credits and someone else will have to repay the rest. This someone else will most likely be the National Property Fund.

[Paral] However, next year the Fund is to get Kc25-30 billion; Kc18 billion of this will go toward interest on the state debt, Kc7.0 billion will go toward the Ingolstadt oil pipeline, and so only the shares will remain.

[Kocarnik] These are also a kind of capital.

Meciar Discusses Bohunice Nuclear Plant

AU0510122893 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 5 Oct 93 p 9

[Report by Dagmar Schwelle: "Contradictions on the Bohunice Nuclear Power Plant"]

[Text] Bohunice/Bratislava—There is continuing confusion about the future of the Bohunice nuclear reactor, which is only 60 kilometers from the Austrian border.

Block V-1 of the Slovak nuclear power plant at Bohunice will be taken out of operation in the year 2000; Block V-2, which is more modern, in the year 2010. According to Bohunice director Robert Gunis, this results from the energy concept of the Slovak Government that was adopted several months ago. Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar recently said, however, that he knows nothing about such a government decision.

During President Klestil's visit to Bratislava in July, Meciar had presented the option to convert the nuclear power plant into a gas steam power plant as the most likely variant—in official talks with Austria, one had always said the reactor would be closed down in 1995. He now presented three options at a meeting with foreign journalists: the immediate closing down, which, however, depends on the output of the Gabcikovo hydropower plant; the conversion into a gas steam power plant; and the refitting of the older block and its operation until 1995.

The operators favor the latter variant, but the government has not authorized it, stresses Meciar. A decision will be made by the end of this year.

What the Bohunice management says sounds entirely different. The program of gradual technical improvement and continuation of the power plant until 2000 or 2010 is being carried out under full government control. Having implemented the 81 measures imposed by the International Atomic Energy Agency, the plant has achieved a certain safety level. Further steps will be carried out between 1995 and 1998, which will allow safe operations until the mentioned deadlines. The cost of renewal will amount to approximately 4.4 billion schillings. Currently, negotiations are being held with two firms in the area of nuclear energy.

Warning About Unrest

Vladimir Meciar also warned about an alternative to his Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] government, which has lost its majority in parliament. Such a government would consist of Slovak and Hungarian nationalists. If it wanted confrontation with the HZDS, there would soon be social unrest. Meciar does not rule out reelections that have been demanded by various sides. He said he is confident that a one-party government of the HZDS would be the result. Meciar does not give the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] a chance, as long as his movement exists. He considers coalitions with the SDL and the Slovak National Party [SNS] possible, but problematic, because other countries would view this as an assumption of power by the communists or nationalists.

President Kovac Supports Russian President

AU0610164293 Prague CTK in English 1235 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] Bratislava, Oct 4 (CTK)—Some circles seem to count on armed violence as a means of solution to the urgent problems Russian society is facing, a press release by Slovak President Michal Kovac says.

We absolutely condemn the people who provoked the armed violence. We feel concerned about the bloodshed which occurred, the press release states.

Kovac is convinced that Yeltsin's followers will be able to cope with the situation and return society to the democratic methods of ruling.

The Russian president convinced us about his democratic attitude during his stay in Bratislava August 26 when he strove for new, completely equal relations between the two countries, Kovac declares.

Bills Restricting Social Entitlements Approved

AU0510150193 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Oct 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Stefan Hrcka: "Stricter With Benefits"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday's sixth day of the 22d meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] was taken up almost entirely by the debate on three government-sponsored social bills and by the consideration of the government-sponsored bill on the Slovak Republic Railroads [ZSR]. First, however, the deputies fairly quickly unanimously endorsed Slovakia's accession to the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage.

According to Culture Minister Dusan Slobodnik, this European convention will help establish in our republic legislative protection of archaeological sites and will contribute to their dignified presentation.

The first from the "package" of social laws that were discussed yesterday was the draft amendment to the Law on Employment and the Slovak National Council [SNR] Law on the Jurisdiction of Slovak Republic Bodies in Securing Employment Policy. In presenting the draft, Minister of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family Olga Keltosova said that, in accordance with the state employment policy, the amendment is aimed at establishing a balance between supply and demand for labor. Following a debate, the deputies approved the amendment with comments. It will take effect after its publication in ZBIERKA ZAKONOV [LEGAL GAZETTE].

The amendment specifies that a job applicant (unemployed) will be crossed off the labor offices' register if he refuses, without any serious reason, to take up suitable

employment, including work beneficial to the public, or undergo retraining provided by the labor office, or if he does not actively cooperate with the labor office in mediating employment or retraining. Job seekers participating in retraining courses will no longer be preferred with regard to the provision of unemployment benefits. Like everyone else, during the first three months of their being registered with the labor office they will be paid unemployment benefits amounting to 60 percent of their average monthly earnings prior to the loss of employment and in the subsequent three months unemployment benefits amounting to 50 percent. Unemployment support must not, however, exceed the level of minimum wages more than 1.5 times—that is, it cannot be higher than 3,300 Slovak korunas [Sk]. Unemployed secondary school and university graduates registered with labor offices will receive benefits amounting to only 45 percent of the minimum wages—that is, Sk990 per month.

The NRSR Law on Some Changes in the Provision of State Social Payments determines that the level of the parental allowance [rodicovsky prispevok] (which is paid mostly to women on extended maternity leave) will be equivalent to the minimum subsistence level for an adult person. A person collecting the parental allowance may have a gross monthly income from gainful occupation of up to 50 percent of the minimum wages. Foster parents will receive for every minor entrusted into their care a sum that is equivalent to the minimum subsistence level for a child. This provision of the law should secure the automatic adjustment of these benefits in the event of an increase in the minimum subsistence level. The law will take effect on 1 November 1993. During the debate on this law, Julius Brocka (Christian Democratic Movement) and Pavol Jakubik (Party of the Democratic Left) pointed out that one of the aims of the government's bill was to abolish without any compensation the payment of the state compensatory allowance for children [of Sk200 a month, introduced after the liberalization of prices]. At the recommendation of these deputies, parliament deleted from the government's draft the passage providing for the abolition of the state compensatory allowance, which will therefore continue to be paid.

The key provision of the NRSR Law on Changes Connected With the Provision of Social Care (which will also go into effect as of 1 November 1993) is that citizens placed in institutions of social care will pay for their stay from the very first day of their sojourn (and not from the fourth month, as heretofore). At the same time, citizens placed in these institutions will retain their full pension. The law also establishes stricter criteria for the determination of social dependency and, hence, for the provision of welfare payments.

Following a long debate, the deputies also approved the NRSR Law on the ZSR. The law establishes the ZSR as a special legal entity, puts it on a par with other entrepreneurial entities in the provision of transport services, and secures for it the special status of a public carrier. The law also includes provisions on the railroads' internal organization and bodies, on the management of their resources, and on their property and financial status. It also makes possible the lease of national railroads to private railroad carriers.

The NRSR meeting continues today.

Minister Dismisses Official for Sugar Scandal Claim

AU0610180393 Prague CTK in English 1902 GMT, 1 Oct 93

[Text] Bratislava, Oct 1 (CTK)— Lubomir Durco, head of the Developing Countries Department at the Slovak Economics Ministry, today told the daily SME that Economics Minister Jaroslav Kubecka dismissed him from work as of September 30, citing breach of trust.

A spokesman for Kubecka refused to comment.

Durco was one of the first officials to support claims published in SME about conflicting evidence on the way payments of Indian debts to Slovakia were handled.

According to SME, Durco intended to present documents relating to the so-called sugar affair at the Office of the Slovak Government today.

But CTK tried in vain to find any employee of the office capable of confirming or denying the SME report, just as with information that Premier Vladimir Meciar had appointed an investigative commission in relation with the case.

SME wrote that Finance Minister Julius Toth, said to have been abetted by Czech intelligence, had allegedly embezzled 22 million USD from state funds during the transfer of payments of Indian debts to Slovakia. Sugar was used for part of the transaction despite the lack of Slovak Government's consent.

SME reported that the alleged 22 million USD has been deposited abroad in the names of Toth, Kubecka, Slovak National Bank Governor Vladimir Masar and others.

Russia Begins Delivery of MiG-29 Jet Fighters

LD0610131393 Budapest MTI in English 1302 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Budapest, October 6 (MTI)—Twenty-five wagons with ground accessories, spare parts and drives for 28 Russian MiG-29 jet fighters have arrived at the Hungarian-Ukrainian border. The consignment, worth USD 800 million, is in return for half of the Soviet debts due to Hungary.

The Defence Ministry told MTI on Wednesday that an operative army group will take over the devices in Zahony, at the Ukrainian border, and transport them further.

A second train is expected in November. Eighty per cent of the devices will arrive in Hungary this year, and the remainder by the middle of 1994.

Sixteen MiG-29s will be located in Kecskemet, east-central Hungary, this month, with eight arriving by mid-October and eight at the end of the month.

Six of the remaining 12 are expected between November 10 and 20, and six between November 20 and 30.

The armless jets will be transported to Hungary by Russian pilots.

Defense Minister on Russia Visit, Cooperation

AU0510112593 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Oct 93 p 5

[Interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Zoltan Fekete; place and date not given: "The MiG-29s Give Strength to Power"]

[Text] After concluding his visit in Russia, Defense Minister Lajos Fur gave us an exclusive interview on his experiences in Russia, the Russian-Hungarian military relations, and the possible military cooperation.

[Fekete] Mr. Fur! The Hungarian Government and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall personally have repeatedly expressed their support for Russian President Boris Yeltsin. Before your departure to Russia, you said that one of the major goals of your visit was to assure Boris Yeltsin of our support through Defense Minister Pavel Grachev.

[Fur] I do not know yet to what extent I succeeded in conveying the commitment of the Hungarian Government during my talks. In all our talks, Grachev expressed his thanks that we went there and expressed our support for them in such a tense domestic political situation in Moscow. This could consolidate their situation within the country and perhaps a little in the world at large. The Army, which stressed its neutrality in this conflict, conducted a very wise policy because, with this, it committed itself to the president, without having to make any spectacular domestic policy step. I think that the fact that the Army was able to maintain the one-man leadership is the most we can expect at the moment.

I personally am very glad to be able to represent the position of the Hungarian Government in Moscow now because, in November 1992, when President Yeltsin visited Hungary, I accompanied him during his visit, including plot 301 [grave plot of 1956 leaders] in the cemetery, and I saw his face, his internal tension, when he spoke to Imre Nagy's daughter. This huge man, who is the ruler of a world power, had tears in his eyes. It was a great pleasure for me to be able to return something to this man during my current visit to Moscow....

[Fekete] In your opinion, what is the Russian domestic political situation like? You held negotiations with Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, who is currently the second man behind Yeltsin.

[Fur] Grachev carries the burdens calmly and I think his environment and the mood of the Kremlin are similar. It seems that the people in White House do not enjoy massive support; the only question is when can Khasbulatov and his followers be persuaded to give up this useless demonstration. Whoever I talked to, my impression was that the current stalemate did not cause any special disturbance in the country. People show apathy.

[Fekete] What did your hosts say about Hungary's desire to join NATO?

[Fur] Mr. Grachev said that Russia would not be happy if the former CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] member countries became NATO members now. They fear that this would place Russia in an isolated situation. They believe in the creation of a general security in Europe, including Russia. They do not have any reservations regarding NATO, but they would not like to have the edge of NATO along their borders. They say there should be NATO, but Russia should also be part of it.

[Fekete] Hungary will also have UN troops next year. Is it possible that Hungarian peacekeeping forces will also participate in solving conflicts between the member countries of the former Soviet Union?

[Fur] I told the Russian chief of staff that Hungary would be ready to participate in the conflict that broke out in the successor states in Caucasus as peacekeeping forces. They do not see any chance of this, because heavy fighting is still going on there, and this could also harm Russia's international image.

[Fekete] You saw the MiG-29 aircraft that will soon be handed over to the Hungarian Army. Are your satisfied with this purchase?

[Fur] It does not mean much if I am satisfied. It is much more important that Colonel Sandor Karmazsin, the commander of the Dezso Szentgyorgy Strategic Airforce Regiment and the head of the Hungarian pilots currently undergoing retraining in Krasnodar, said that, in piloting the MiG-29 aircraft, one has the feeling that one had changed his Trabant car for a Mercedes. The first eight aircraft will arrive to Kecskemet on 15 October, and it is possible that Colonel Sandor Karmazsin will pilot one of them, as the future commander. According to our pilots,

regarding its aerodynamics, the MiG-29 aircraft can compete with any other combat aircraft in the world, and their combat value is excellent and far exceeds the characteristics of our current aircraft. The MiG-29s will strengthen the defense of the Hungarian air space and they will provide strength to our power.

[Fekete] In the course of the negotiations, the Russian side was offering SU-27 aircraft. These aircraft are similar to the F-18s. Is it possible that we will purchase some of them?

[Fur] Unfortunately, I do not think so, because we do not have money for this. If, by chance, we could use the remaining Russian debt of $900 million for the purchase of military technology, we would rather strengthen our air defense with the purchase of S-300 missile batteries.

[Fekete] Can we imagine the production of Russian aircraft spare parts in Hungary, perhaps on the basis of production licenses?

[Fur] We would like to prepare a draft agreement on military technology cooperation by the end of October, an agreement that would also include such a possibility. The way the Russian side can guarantee the supply of spare parts to our Soviet-made aircraft is an important element. Some 80 percent of our current military technology is of Soviet origin, and we would like to solve the supply of spare parts from Russia and Ukraine. The Russian chief of staff did not exclude our proposal.

[Fekete] You held talks in Russia at a time when the Hungarian Parliament is discussing the defense bill. In your opinion, will your experience in Moscow help you in the parliamentary debate?

[Fur] I hope we will already have a defense law by the time our MiG aircraft come home. I am optimistic, but it would be a good think if those who want even more democracy and freedom in the parliamentary debate saw what was going on in the neighboring countries or in Russia. We would like to preserve the rules of democracy and constitution in every respect.

Antall Arrives in Cologne for Medical Treatment

LD0610140793 Budapest MTI in English 1220 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Bonn/Cologne, October 6 (MTI)—Hungary's Prime Minister Jozsef Antall arrived today in Cologne for several weeks of medical treatment. He is suffering from non-Hodgkin lymphoma.

Antall is at Cologne University's medical clinic for internal diseases, for the past 10 years Germany's main centre for curing such diseases.

Antall's physician will be the clinic's director, Professor Volker Diehl, who was previously consulted on his case two years ago.

"I have visited Hungary several times and have participated in the prime minister's treatment in Budapest" Diehl told the newspaper KOLNER STADT-ANZEIGER. "This time a more intensive therapy seems necessary," he said, but declined to elaborate.

Interior Minister Peter Boross will fill in for the prime minister during his absence.

Boross To Substitute for Antall

AU0610180993 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Oct 93 p 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Peter Boross, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Pal Szombathy; place and date not given: "Substitution Is Not a Problem for Me"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Szombathy] During the medical treatment of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, you will be substituting for him. How will you consult on decisions and what are the limits of your independence?

[Boross] There is no rule but I know what to do. It depends on the case. I have been working together with Antall for long enough to know which issues require prior information of even a statement from him. I am also clear about which issues I must inform the prime minister about and when I can confidently make a decision alone. During the course of our cooperation, a system of communication has evolved that cannot be expressed or regulated by norms. However, it has always been like this because the interior minister's sphere of activities includes several issues that are more significant than the average. In these cases, I did not start to read up on what is in my sphere of authority, I was simply aware that I had to inform the prime minister.

[Szombathy] How much extra work will you have this month?

[Boross] I will obviously have more to do but a person who directs organizations has to know how to reprogram his workload and how much more work to give to the state secretaries. This can be solved because I have substituted in the past, although it was another minister and not the prime minister in that case. This is an exigency but, under normal circumstances, this should have happened every year if the prime minister had been willing to take a month's holiday, like all the prime ministers in Western Europe do. I view the substitution as an interval that might have happened at any time and it does not cause any problems for me.

[Szombathy] As deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], will your role in the largest government party increase in Antall's absence?

[Boross] In the MDF, Executive Chairman Sandor Lezsak will substitute Antall. I will obviously have less time to work in the MDF, but the prime minister also worked in his capacity as party chairman, so I will do the same. Some of my trips will be called off and and the cancellation of some invitations will reduce the intensity of my work in the MDF during this period. [passage omitted]

Fur Signs Agreement With Slovak Defense Minister

AU0610204893 Prague CTK in English 1808 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] Budapest, Oct 4 (CTK)—A basic five-year agreement on cooperation between the Hungarian and Slovak Defense Ministries was signed today by the two countries' defense ministers, Lajos Fur and Imrich Andrejcak, currently on a one-day official visit to Hungary.

Fur told journalists that the document was important for strengthening of friendship between Slovakia and Hungary. Security in the Central European region must be based on frankness and mutual confidence, he added.

Andrejcak said he believed that the agreement would positively affect the two countries' friendship. Under it, Slovak-Hungarian military cooperation must not endanger the interests of other states, he noted.

Both Fur and Andrejcak confirmed that at their talks preceding the document's signing, they had discussed the current developments in Russia. They said that they agreed that these developments threatened European security, and therefore it was important that President Boris Yeltsin and Russian democratic forces gain control of the situation as quickly as possible.

Andrejcak said he expected the Russian events to help strengthen Slovak-Hungarian cooperation, as it was in the two countries' interest that the attempts to stop the democratization process be categorically rejected.

Fur noted that he had discussed with Andrejcak the efforts by the Visegrad Group member countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) to join NATO, including Russia's new stand on the issue. In a letter addressed to NATO member states last week, Yeltsin allegedly expressed reservations about admission of post-communist states to NATO.

Fur said that in the near future, 28 Russian MiG-29 fighters would reach Hungary, by which half of the Russian debts to Hungary would be paid off. Andrejcak noted that Slovakia was also interested in purchasing these aircraft.

The ministers said that they had also discussed possibilities of jointly training the two armies' officers, as well as of training Hungarian pilots at the Pilots' Academy based in Kosice, east Slovakia.

The two ministers stated that the recent delay in signing the agreement was due to Andrejcak's health examinations, not to political reasons.

Under the agreement, the two countries are obliged to inform each other of movements of bigger military units. They will also share experience in reducing military equipment, exchange military observers, and coordinate their activities in border regions.

Jeszenszky on 'Very Successful' Visit to Canada

LD0710003893 Budapest MTI in English 0709 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Washington, October 6 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky termed the visit he had paid to Canada from October 2 to 5 as very successful.

"I met representatives of the Canadian leadership, including Foreign Minister Henry Perrin Beatty, with whom I discussed security issues of east central Europe and bilateral relations," Jeszenszky told MTI.

The Canadian Government lays stress on developing bilateral relations, primarily economic ties, he said. The topics discussed included the soonest possible ratification of the agreements on investment protection and the elimination of double taxation, the conclusion of an air agreement and the revision of the visa agreement.

Jeszenszky said the talks demonstrated what emphasis Canada was laying on support for the ethnic communities living in that country and considered them an important link in maintaining ties with their native countries. "I welcomed that my negotiating parties spoke in appreciative terms about the Hungarian community of Canada," he said.

The Hungarian foreign minister held talks with senior officials of the provincial governments of Ontario and Alberta, and with local businessmen. The negotiations focussed on economic and business issues.

Russian Diplomat Expelled; Russia Retaliates

LD0610133993 Warsaw Third Program Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Poland has expelled a Russian diplomat for activity incompatible with his diplomatic status. Moscow has responded to this with the expulsion of the Polish military attache, REUTERS agency reports from Warsaw, quoting sources in the Polish Government.

Colonel Leszek Ziolo has confirmed that General Roman Harmoza, who has been acting military attache in Moscow, is now in Poland. He has been recalled for consultations, the spokesman said.

National Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz is to make an official statement on this matter only at the beginning of next week, after his return from a meeting of the North Atlantic assembly in Copenhagen.

PAP has learned that the Russian diplomat who left Poland last week is (Colonel Vladimir Lomakin), military attache of the Russian Federation. (Vladimir Voronkov), press spokesman of the Russian Embassy to Warsaw, said that Lomakin left for Moscow after he was summoned by the Defense Ministry there. It is difficult to say why he is needed there, but it is not surprising for someone from the embassy to go to Moscow once in a while, Voronkov said.

Government Coalition Likely To Be Formed 12 Oct

LD0610225393 Warsaw PAP in English 2240 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 6—The process of forming a government coalition is likely to end on October 12 during a meeting of the leaderships of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) and the Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP), Michal Strak of the PSL said Wednesday after the conclusion of plenary talks held by experts of the PSL, the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and the Union of Labour (UP).

The SLD has prepared a draft of a coalition agreement between the SLD, PSL and UP which will be presented to the leaders of the three groupings within the coming days, SLD spokesman Zbigniew Siemiatkowski said.

The draft agreement contains the main political, social and economic assumptions for the state and the scope of constitutional powers of the head of state. It will be made public immediately after it is submitted to the party leaders concerned.

"The SLD wants to meet half-way President Lech Walesa's expectations expressed in the Tuesday address to the nation in which the president said that issues of such importance as those concerning the creation of a government coalition should not be held behind closed doors," Siemiatkowski said.

Jozef Oleksy, who on behalf of the SLD is responsible for negotiations with the PSL and the up, said that "there are grounds to expect that the talks may end in a success." According to him there are no substantial differences in programmes of the three parties.

Experts of the three parties discussed documents prepared by five working teams to work out a framework for a programme of the coalition government.

Democratic Union Leader on Post-Election Expectations

PM0610101693 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 22 Sep 93 pp 1-2

[Interview with Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Democratic Union leader, by correspondent Elzbieta Graczyk; place and date not given]

[Text] [Graczyk] What can the man in the street—or rather the man in the factory, the woman in the office, my next-door neighbor, or an old age or disability pensioner—in other words, all those Poles who, for a variety of reasons, chose the left-wing orientation in the 19 September election—expect to happen now and in the near future? You, a Democratic Union politician, nevertheless still appear to be closer to the so-called ordinary people than the new power elites who operate on a plane that seems to be far removed from real life. It should not be too difficult for you to tell us what ordinary people expected when they voted as they did. They did not want to see the Democratic Union, or the Liberals, or the Christian National Union, or Ms Suchocka's government, in power any longer. They wanted to see a change.

[Frasyniuk] They will be greatly disappointed. They voted the way they did because for quite a long time before the election other people had been making efforts to persuade them that that was the only way in which they could register their protest against the changes that seemed too abrupt to them and the reforms that were too heavy a burden to bear. They kept hearing: "It does not have to be like this any longer" [Democratic Left Alliance election slogan]. Instead, they were promised higher pay, higher pensions, higher disability allowances, a prompt improvement in their living standards, a radical reduction of unemployment figures, a rebuilding of heavy industry, and budget subsidies for state enterprises. Mass exports were supposed to be resumed shortly—but no one knew where we would be exporting our goods! Well, none of these things will happen! The opportunities are just not there. Politicians from the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] camp, who are frantically trying to find partners—even among the Democratic Union's ranks—with whom they could form a new government, know this only too well. So they do not stand a chance. On the other hand, I firmly believe that they are now obliged to form a new government, assume responsibility for their promises, and tell the people what is possible and what is not. The Democratic Union has already announced that it will not enter into coalition with the SLD.

[Graczyk] Will you remain in opposition, then?

[Frasyniuk] We will, although it will not be an easy thing to do. I am afraid that we will be the only group in the new

Sejm favoring the market economy system. Therefore, we will be too weak to stand guard effectively over the course of the reforms and make sure that the four years of hard work and tremendous sacrifice suffered by the public is not wasted.

[Graczyk] What about the Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms [BBWR]?

[Frasyniuk] During the campaign it was represented by a "one-man band" in the person of Andrzej Olechowski. We do not yet know what the BBWR will turn out to be. So far, they have been quite lavish with leftist and populist slogans.

[Graczyk] So when the SLD assumes that burden together with the Polish Peasant Party...

[Frasyniuk] ...I will be most concerned about the dangers which could threaten Poland when the ruling camp realizes that they are unable to fulfill their promises and the expectations of their supporters and cannot take them back easily. This state of "paralysis" could result in their putting a halt to all changes. Consequently, we will all have to pay for it, and the poorest members of society, to whom the winners had promised the most, will pay the highest price. On the other hand, I do not expect to see any direct danger to the process of democratization of our system.

[Graczyk] "Well, Frasyniuk, now we will sort your boy out right and proper," an acquaintance of your father's is reported to have said to him...

[Frasyniuk] "They" had tried long and hard to "sort us out" a long time ago, and they had the militia and the prisons at their disposal then. Somehow or other, they failed. I am not afraid of such threats. I am only afraid that both you and the gentleman you have just quoted will end up very disappointed indeed.

Socialist Leader Views Coalition Prospects

AU0610205693 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Sep 93 p 7

[Interview with Piotr Ikonowicz, leader of the Polish Socialist Party, by Igor Zalewski and Piotr Zaremba; place and date not given: "I Sense Moods Better Than Tadeusz Mazowiecki"]

[Text] [ZYCIE WARSZAWY] What does it feel like to be in the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]? Do you intend to join the SLD Club?

[Ikonowicz] I intend to join and I think that I will feel increasingly better in it. The formula is so wide-ranging that the Socialists will also fit in.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Will you find a common language with everyone in the SLD?

[Ikonowicz] At the present time, I cannot say to what extent it will be possible to fulfill the left's electoral promises and to what extent the SLD will want to fulfill them. That will only become apparent when those forces are in government. The problem of who is actually to take part in the coalition government has already arisen: the SLD or the SdRP [Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland]. Formally, the SLD will enter the coalition, because the electorate voted for it. However, the SdRP has the greatest degree of determination and is best prepared for government. It would be difficult for the unions to be directly involved in government.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] is a party....

[Ikonowicz] We wanted to become a parliamentary party and we have achieved that goal, although there will only be four of us in parliament. By entering parliament, we have overcome the barrier of silence that separated us from the electorate. The goal that we have set ourselves is that of applying effective pressure on the government camp so that the election promises are fulfilled.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Could that have been achieved in another way, if only by entering the Sejm on the Union of Labor [UP] ticket?

[Ikonowicz] There are no substantial differences between the SLD and the UP, whereas we are to the left of both. The UP was simply the less powerful electoral locomotive. In addition, the SLD carries more weight in the trade union movement, and it is the unions that will determine whether an economic breakthrough is successful.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But the UP voted against the mass privatization program, and half the SLD's deputies supported a program that you sharply criticized.

[Ikonowicz] During other votes, the UP was more conciliatory toward the views of the right. I, on the other hand, considered the vote on the mass privatization program a turning-point. Half the SLD's deputies did not back the program. For the first time, they stopped behaving like a besieged fortress and giving in to blackmail from the right. Previously, they had opted for policy compromises—when it was still the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left—with respect to, for example, the Balcerowicz Plan.

If half of the deputies were of a different opinion, that means that there is a left wing with which one can talk. There was a breakthrough, and I perceived a chance for the Socialists in it.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] So, are you counting on a split?

[Ikonowicz] We want to support a layout of the political scene that will be based not on biographies, but on convictions.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] The UP wanted to base its groupings not on biographies, but on a program.

[Ikonowicz] Over half the members of the UP were in the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], and yet at the same time, the grouping wants to maintain a division between the "postcommunists" and "Solidarity," although society has shown in these elections that it is not interested in that kind of division.

After all, elites do not split on the basis of biographies, but on the basis of interests. Wilczek is not fighting Niemczycki over biographies. At the workplace, branch unions and "Solidarity" are inclined to cooperate, but their leaderships continue to want to revive the old divisions. In the UP, Zielkowska wants to clear away those divisions, but Bugaj insists on the "Solidarity" ethos.

Bugaj's party was to fulfill the dream of a left-wing movement that would emerge from "Solidarity." After all, "Solidarity" in 1981 was a left-wing movement. Now, what has transpired? It turns out that it is not possible to build a left without people who were in the PZPR.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Let us return to this "breakthrough" in the SLD. Can you imagine the SLD's people going off in different directions?

[Ikonowicz] Perhaps individual components of the SLD will begin to free themselves. That opinion has even been aired in the SdRP. However, we Socialists believe that mass parties are a thing of the past. If the left wants to wield great influence, then it must do so through the unions. In this respect, we and the SdRP will be trying to outbid ourselves in what we have to offer in the form of programs.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] You are trying to avoid giving a clear-cut answer. Will you always be in the same bloc as Mr. Borowski and Mr. Sekula?

[Ikonowicz] The new Sejm will have to provide answers to such important questions that there will not only be divisions within entire groupings, but also within entire formations. However, we entered the Sejm thanks to the SLD and so we will not be planning a split the day after. Our chances are linked to the SLD.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Mrs. Spychalska has given the new government six months to fulfill its promises. Are you afraid that you will be giving your seal of approval to a liberal economic policy.

[Ikonowicz] Ewa Spychalska leads a great central trade union organization, and we do not have that degree of power. We will no doubt inspire discussion in the club, and we will no doubt find allies there.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Bugaj says that a tendency has already appeared within the SLD "for the old policy to be conducted by new people." Jozef Oleksy set an example by making promises to the World Bank regarding the level of the budget deficit.

[Ikonowicz] The forecasts made by the right that a left-wing government would be boycotted by international financial circles has been proved wrong. The left has a parliamentary majority, so it will have more bargaining power with regard to renegotiating disadvantageous agreements with the IMF and the World Bank. Neo-liberal governments displayed excessive zeal in satisfying the IMF's wishes. Oleksy is talking to the World Bank in order to avert the danger of Poland becoming internationally isolated.

Today, it is difficult to say whether we will be dealing with an economic breakthrough or just adjustments to current policy. We want a breakthrough, but we will have to withhold radical assessments until the first effects of the new policy are apparent.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] You and Tadeusz Mazowiecki have switched roles. In 1989, you fought against postcommunist setups, and his government was accused of "wiping the slate clean." Today, he is warning about the revival of such setups and you are working hand in hand with the postcommunists.

[Ikonowicz] In 1989, I attacked the the Magdalenka pacts and what stemmed from them—the construction of grasping capitalism without consulting society. I think that at the time I had a better sense of the public mood than UD circles. Today, I was also better at sensing that the period of anti-communist rhetoric had drawn to a close. UD circles are competent, but completely isolated socially.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] So you do not believe in apparatchiks?

[Ikonowicz] I believe in the clash of interests. There are old nomenklatura groups that would like to have seats on the supervisory boards of privatized enterprises. But let us look at who those groups counted on and financed in the elections: the BBWR [Non-Party Block in Support of Reforms], the KLD [Liberal-Democratic Congress], as well as the UD.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] But you are also a participant in the game. You are linked to the business groups in the SLD.

[Ikonowicz] I am aware of that danger and that is why I want to amend the law on mass privatization so that the work forces, and not those groups, will benefit from privatization. On the other had, however, the SLD spent much less on its election campaign than the liberal right-wing parties. It certainly did not make serious commitments to business groups.

[ZYCIE WARSZAWY] Can you promise that the SLD will improve the health of banking and the economic administration, where people from the old system predominate?

[Ikonowicz] Corruption is a phenomenon that is not linked to a particular political persuasion. However, the Liberals created mechanisms that facilitate corruption. A good example is the rigid dollar exchange rate, which makes it possible to make money every time the zloty is devalued.

The 8-percent devaluation that occurred before the elections undoubtedly made it possible for some people to make money. The left is proposing a flexible dollar exchange rate, which would eliminate one of the sources of abuses. In that sense, the left is better.

Roman Calls For Government of Reconstruction

AU0610213493 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 4 Oct 93 p 5

[Interview with Petre Roman, president of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front), by unidentified correspondent of Italian daily L'UNITA; place and date not given, published in 21 September 1993 issue of L'UNITA: "It Is High Time To Stop Bickering"]

[Text] [Correspondent] Why do you claim that the reform government was eliminated by a coup in 1991?

[Roman] Because it is the truth. Iliescu took the decision then, and I finally accepted it. But my government never came before Parliament for a vote. It was an anticonstitutional decision, a very painful moment for my country, which thus mortgaged many favorable opportunities for reform in Romania.

[Correspondent] That was when the miners came to Bucharest.

[Roman] It was a violent action and was perpetrated not only by the miners alone. Today, everybody knows that their incursion was politically manipulated. Their violence had no economic justification whatsoever, since the government had already concluded an agreement with their trade union.

[Correspondent] But let us return to the present. You are calling yourselves a center-left "modern social-democratic" party. What is the difference?

[Roman] Yes, many other parties from the East call themselves that. The democratic quality of a party in Eastern Europe depends on the degree of freedom it enjoys vis-a-vis the administrative state apparatus of the old regime. In this respect, Iliescu's party is not social-democratic. We achieved this very important degree of freedom after the schism of March 1992.

As for the rest, we believe that the market is not a "minor evil," like the old theories claim, but that it is indispensable for creating wealth. I believe that the task of a social-democratic force is not only to distribute, but to also produce wealth, by ensuring a balance that can avoid the accumulation of this wealth in the hands of a few people and the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of Romanians along the way.

[Correspondent] Iliescu won the elections. Why?

[Roman] Iliescu and the other parties of the extreme nationalist governmental coalition conducted a demagogic electoral campaign. They let the Romanian people believe in the illusion that they can live as in the past. I believe that there was a certain amount of manipulation, too, since some 3 million votes for the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate were canceled, 70 percent of which were for my party. Nevertheless, even if we take into consideration the good results that it achieved, the government that resulted from the elections is not qualified to continue the reform.

[Correspondent] In Poland, where the reform began a long time ago, the former communists also emerged victorious in the elections. What is your opinion on that?

[Roman] This is a very worrying phenomenon, which we have already experienced, since our parliamentary majority looks like the old regime, at least as far as its mentality is concerned. Unfortunately, this phenomenon occurred in our country at a time when it most needed the strong political will to change. The consequence is the prolongation of the suffering of the transitional period—both with regard to its length as well as to its painful content.

This phenomenon is dangerous because one should not forget that all the former communist countries are suffering from disguised unemployment, particularly in industry. This social category is usually conservative, by nature. However, I am still optimistic, because the movement toward free initiative and the development of a feeling for private property cannot be hampered. The work of all democratic politicians should rely on this conviction, and then they will overcome all resistance.

[Correspondent] You often talk about national communism. What does that mean in concrete terms?

[Roman] This means nationalist and conservative demagogy. It is a xenophobic movement aimed against the foreign capital that is allegedly reducing Romania to the status of a colony and turning the population into paupers. But Romania had already been a colony of the Soviet empire, and the most Stalinist of them all, too. That is an anti-modern, anti-European, and anti-Western movement. It is motivated by the political desire to maintain one's privileges through propaganda. The only propaganda that Ceausescu permitted, apart from praise for himself, was nationalist. The same people who were doing it then are also doing it now.

[Correspondent] My impression is that there is also a kind of democratic nationalism. One of the things that the democrats have reproached Iliescu for is that he failed to denounce the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, and hence he failed to act to bring about unification with Moldova.

[Roman] This is a justified reproach. The historical reality is that the Republic of Moldova exists because of the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and this is also the reason why it became part of the Soviet Union. A favorable opportunity was lost. Today, Moldova is in a very difficult position. Because of the ruble reform, Russia can now purchase Moldova's goods for a pittance. However, the main problem is the presence of the Russian Army in the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic. The Russians do not constitute the majority in that part of Moldova either, but it is a key area in the republic's economy thanks to its energy resources. This is a very difficult situation, which also has a geopolitical connotation. The day when that self-proclaimed republic joins the Russian Federation, Russia will make a 600-kilometer leap forward, closing Ukraine in and also getting closer to the Black Sea.

In conclusion, I do not believe that one can talk about nationalism when raising the issue of Moldova, but rather about normal feelings toward our brothers over there.

[Correspondent] There are many things connected with the Romanian revolution that have remained unclarified. Could one explain away the problem of Moldova as having been part of an agreement struck between the anti-Ceausescu conspirators and the Soviet Union?

[Roman] I have no knowledge of such things. If you remember, I came from the streets with the people. I became a leader of the "street movement" overnight. We managed to drive Ceausescu away and then, on the very balcony from which Ceausescu used to talk for years on end, I was the one who said: "The dictatorship is abolished and the power belongs to the people." These are the grounds for my reputation in the West.

It was only afterward that the people with an important past in the Communist Party arrived on the scene. It was then that the first question marks arose. There might have been a conspiracy for organizing a coup d'etat, but I have never been told of it. What I know is that the street movement took everybody by surprise and made all plans superfluous. The people drove Ceausescu away. The communists had much more experience than all of us and I believe that, in principle, the transition could have benefited from their presence, had they wanted it. We are dealing here with a double fault, ours—mine, too—and also theirs: These forces did not participate in the efforts to lay the foundations for a democratic movement, something which hurt the wonderful image of the revolution.

[Correspondent] Why was Ceausescu killed in that manner?

[Roman] There was no other solution. A great French jurist told me that it would have been better to eliminate him without trial, by the virtue of the revolution. That would have been better than a trial in which the defense turned into the prosecution. But he had to be eliminated one way or the other. Only his death put an end to the fighting and bloodshed.

[Correspondent] After his victory at the last elections, Iliescu proposed a national unity government. Why has that proposal not been carried out?

[Roman] In Romanian, we say that everybody must lend a helping hand. We actually made the same proposal before Iliescu. However, in the debate on the minimal conditions required for the further implementation of the reform process, two opposed groups emerged right away: Iliescu and the nationalist parties on the one hand, and the democratic groupings on the other. We hoped that Iliescu was sincere in his proposal, but then came the opposition of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD] to such a coalition. This time, together with the Democratic Convention [CDR], we again proposed such a solution. This is a political message which, in my opinion, comes from the whole country. Everywhere, in small and large cities, from the peasants, everybody tells us that we should stop bickering. I believe that, if we fail to create a government for national reconstruction, the economic situation will worsen and the consequences will be unforeseeable.

[Correspondent] Do you believe that the process of transition to the market economy has been started?

[Roman] Yes. Our government has passed a large part of the legislation required by the market economy mechanisms. We turned state enterprises into trading companies. In August 1990, we adopted the great law on privatization. We also passed laws on political reform, justice, and banking. The institutional program has been practically achieved, but the respective positions are still occupied by people who subordinate those institutions to political goals. Positions such as the president of the Supreme Court, the president of the Court of Public Accounts, or the minister of the interior and head of the intelligence services should be neutral. In Romania, this is still part of our political struggle for democratization.

[Correspondent] You are a Danube country involved in the blockade against Serbia. What problems does this situation produce?

[Roman] The government has behaved in a fully democratic way and has implemented the blockade rigorously. However, the Romanians nurture a long-standing sentiment of friendship toward the Serbs and you can hardly find anybody who condemns them and is certain of the injustice of their cause. There is another problem here, too. We are the last Danube station before Yugoslavia. Why are no checks made at the source, where the containers are loaded? The monitoring should be organized more professionally by the international bodies.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 7 October
W6070013293

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

UNPROFOR commander fails to end fighting in western Bosnia ... Serbian Assembly begins discussion of motion of no confidence in government ... Prosecutor drops charges against Serbian Radical Party leader Draskovic.

MILITARY

UN COMMANDER'S PEACE MISSION FAILS: According to TANJUG, efforts by UNPROFOR Commander Briquemont to end fighting between Muslim factions in western Bosnia reportedly have failed. Sarajevo Radio broadcasts a recording of what it says is a conversation between western Bosnian leader Abdic and Bosnian Serb commander Mladic "cooperating" in the region. (LD0610223193, AU0710010393)

POLITICAL

DISCUSSION OF NO-CONFIDENCE MOTION (TANJUG): Serbian Assembly debate opens on motion of no confidence in Serbian Government, which was initiated by Serbian Radical Party leader Seselj. (LD0610223993)

CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST DRASKOVIC (TANJUG): Belgrade's public prosecutor drops charges against Serbian Renewal Party leader Draskovic, who had been charged with "obstructing an officer" during a 2 June melee in front of the Serbian Assembly building. (LD0610170993)

Serb Artillery Kills Two in Sarajevo

AU0610190893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Two people were killed and four were seriously injured when the Serbian aggressor launched shells at the very center of Sarajevo this afternoon. Enemy snipers injured two people in Kralj Tomislav Street, and one in the district of Ciglane.

Silajdzic, Granic Agree on Release of POW's

AU0610203093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Report by Nada Al-Isa from Zagreb]

[Text] Haris Silajdzic and Mate Granic, foreign ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, respectively, held talks this evening in Zagreb with representatives of the International Red Cross. The release of all prisoners and prisoners of war—according to the principle all for all—was discussed. All for all and in keeping with the joint declaration, which was recently signed in Geneva between Presidents Izetbegovic and Tudjman. The representatives of the International Red Cross stated concrete figures—that is, they said that according to their data, there were still another 4,670 in camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Croatian Defense Council [HVO] camps, while in camps controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, there were still another 850 prisoners of war. The talks will resume tomorrow. The topic will be the same, as will the participants.

However, today it was already agreed that the prisoners, once they are released, will be allowed to go where they wish—that is, to territory controlled by the HVO or the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army or to some third country. Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatian groups for restoring mutual trust will also talk to the ministers tomorrow. First measures to be taken in this respect will be discussed, like, for example, the halting of the negative media campaign and the type of reporting that will help restore trust. Prior to meeting with Minister Granic and the representatives of the International Red Cross, Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic talked to members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina groups for relations with the Croatian side. The minister was informed that around 1200 [1100 GMT] tomorrow, a convoy that has been waiting for months should finally leave Stolac. Only the UN Protection Force's definite accord is awaited. It was stated that members of the groups for restoring mutual trust would also soon be on their way to central Bosnia in order to deal with the problems in the field. It seems that they will have a lot to do. Livno was stated as an example where even after the joint declaration, mass arrests were still taking place. Most of the Muslim men have been arrested, and some of them have been taken to nearby prisons, Ljubuski for example.

Minister Silajdzic acquainted the members of the working groups for implementing the joint declaration with the letter he received from Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock, who wrote that his country was ready to give 20 metric tons of wood for heating. Arrangements for transportation are the only thing that remains to be settled before Sarajevo citizens, and other Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens, can have a warmer winter. Therefore, the world wants to help. Will this motivate the members of the two countries' delegations? Because, in order to succeed, you must sincerely desire success. Croatia's sincerity in wanting improved relations was questioned, since it is unreservedly supporting Fikret Abdic in the current events in western Bosnia by giving it unprecedented media publicity and attention. This was Nada Al-Isa reporting from Zagreb for Radio Television Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Croat Command Says Muslim Offensive Broken

LD0610183793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1815 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Trebinje, Oct 6 (TANJUG)—The local command of the Bosnian Croat Army said on Wednesday it had broken the Moslem Army's offensive northwest of Mostar in southwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Zagreb-based Croatian Radio, which quoted the statement, said the Moslem army had taken heavy casualties in personnel and materiel.

A Moslem infantry attack on the village of Rastani, three kilometres north of Mostar, was foiled early on Wednesday morning, and there was fighting near Drezmica, 20 km north of this biggest Herzegovina city, during the day, the source said.

Croatian military sources said that Mostar itself was quiet on Wednesday, with sporadic light arms fire.

Spokesman for the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) Idelbbad Biswbrouck said, however, that the Moslem parts of the city were under Croatian attack.

Bosnian Croat troops have foiled an attempt by a Moslem sabotage squad to infiltrate the village of Dobrasin near Gornji Vakuf in central Bosnia, Croatian radio said and added that Moslem forces were attacking the Croat positions around Novi Travnik and Vitez, also in central Bosnia.

Moslem-controlled Radio Sarajevo claims, however, that Croats have perpetrated heinous war crimes, using Moslem prisoners as a human shield in the fighting around Novi Travnik.

The radio insists that Croats have tied several kilos of explosives to the bodies of their Moslem prisoners and forced them to cross over to the Moslem positions, and then touched off the explosive by remote control, with horrible results.

Moslems and Croats started the Bosnian civil war as allies against the local Serbs, but have lately been fighting pitched battles in central and southwestern Bosnia for control of territories with mixed populations, disregarding numerous ceasefires signed by their respective leaderships.

Bloodshed Between Muslims 'Increasingly Tragic'

AU0610162693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[Text] The bloodshed between Muslims in the Cazin Krajina is reaching increasingly tragic proportions. So far over 50 people have been killed in the clashes between Izetbegovic's and Abdic's supporters, and dozens have been wounded on both sides. There were 23 killed yesterday alone in the clashes in the village of Johovac near Velika Kladusa. The forces loyal to Fikret Abdic proved to be superior, and they are now pushing back the units loyal to Alija Izetbegovic and General Ramiz Drekovic, who are trying to discipline the authorities of the autonomous province of western Bosnia.

The media war in the Muslim enclave is continuing. Radio Cazin and Radio Bihac, which are under the control of General Drekovic, call Abdic and his associates traitors, while Radio Velika Kladusa reiterates that the only solution for the Muslims is to sign a peace with the Serbs and Croats, and not follow the insane policy of Izetbegovic, Ganic, and the other Muslim leaders in Sarajevo.

The fact that the Velika Kladusa events—on the principle of wind and fire—have an effect on other Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims is supported by a very interesting leaflet that has been presented to reporters this morning in the 1st Krajina Corps Press Center in Banja Luka. The leaflet has been found on people who have been recently exchanged and have left Tuzla. In the leaflet, a hitherto unknown movement for the autonomy of Tuzla is addressing all the citizens of the region with the words:

The Islamic fundamentalists have again chosen war. We must not allow further bloodshed, the futile sacrifice of lives of young men, when Izetbegovic, Ganic, Silajdzic, and others have moved their families to safety, and our children are being sent to their deaths. The autonomy of Tuzla within Yugoslavia means peace, the revival of the economy and traffic, the establishing of normal life, and so on and so forth.

The people who brought this leaflet claim that it can be found in Tuzla, Banovici, Lukavac, and other towns in this region, and that the authorities—as part of the repression—are confiscating these leaflets, even though they are appear in increasing numbers.

Analysts here estimate that a process similar to that in Velika Kladusa has started in Tuzla. After all, there have been signs of that over the recent months.

Fighting Intensifies

LD0610195793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] ZBIA [western Bosnian agency] has reported that fighting intensified this evening between Izetbegovic's army and civilians in the villages of Johovica and Skokovi. Although much stronger as far as technology and weapons are concerned, Izetbegovic's army is suffering considerable losses. The number of dead or wounded is not yet known.

More Than 50 Killed

LD0610132293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1229 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 6 Oct (TANJUG)—Citing well informed sources, the news center of the First Krajina Corps of the Srpska republic army has announced today that 23 people were killed yesterday in the village of Johovac near Cazin in the clashes between Alija Izetbegovic's and Fikret Abdic's supporters.

The same source says that, although inferior in arms, Abdic's supporters launched a fierce attack from the direction of Koprivna and forced Izetbegovic's forces of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army to withdraw.

A statement concludes that more than 50 people have been killed in inter-Muslim clashes so far, including a large number of civilians, and that the clashes in the newly proclaimed autonomous province of western Bosnia are not dying down.

Abdic-Mladic Collusion Alleged

AU0710110393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] The situation in Bihac remains quite complex although, as you have heard, there are some indications that it could calm down. However, that the person responsible for this situation, secessionist Fikret Abdic, has been cooperating with the enemy from the very beginning of the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina is best illustrated by a recording of the telephone conversation which Fikret Abdic held with war criminal Ratko Mladic during the withdrawal of the former Yugoslav People's Army from Bihac:

[Begin recording] [Mladic] I must say that everything that is happening is to the detriment of my [men]. I have been conducting myself very correctly in Bihac. (?Everything you said) ended to my detriment. You will not fare well with me. Let us not make problems. General [Zivota] Panic told me that he has reached an agreement with you and that this information is correct. I do not want to threaten you nor do I want to order the men to open fire. I do not want to evacuate the way I had to in (?Zadar)

[Abdic] Okay.

[Mladic] I have so many troops that I could pull another (?trump card) to ...

[Abdic] Okay.

[Mladic] ... (?to evacuate). I do not want to do that, I want us to work like people. Have trust in me and [words indistinct]

[Abdic] Okay, okay.

[Mladic] And please, order immediately that the gate is opened for us immediately or I cannot give a signal to the men to set off if something is to happen there.

[Abdic] Okay.

[Mladic] And do not allow any uncontrolled individual pull the trigger and kill a man or fire a bomb or anything else. You must understand that, Fikret. I beg you, you are a respectable businessman. I know a lot about you. [words indistinct] what happened in Croatia. Dalmatia has not been unblocked yet, nor will it be until the weapons go silent. Did you understand me?

[Abdic] Okay.

[Mladic] Did you understand me?

[Abdic] Yes, Mladic.

[Mladic] Can I count on when the columns will set off.

[Abdic] Yes. You can [words indistinct]

[Mladic] Please, let it go. Let us sit at the table and discuss things as people and create peace rather than dig graves. There has been enough of that.

[Abdic] Alright. [end recording]

Delic Delegation Visits Bihac

AU0710110593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 7 Oct 93

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from the 5th Corps Information Service]

[Text] The (?state) delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina headed by Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Supreme Command of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, is paying a working visit to the (?Bihac) District today. The aim of the visit is to overcome the current situation and to find a way to solve the still extremely grave and complex situation, particularly in Velika Kladusa.

Last night, members of the delegation and their hosts participated in an (?open-type) radio and television program which caused great interest among all citizens in the Bihac District and, as we have learned, Commander Delic is going to visit the 5th Corps units and fighters today. Efforts (?are still being made) to try to talk with Fikret Abdic about overcoming the current situation.

The arrival of the state delegation and the return of (Ejub Topic), chairman of the District Assembly, has been received with great approval here in the Bihac District and it is justifiedly expected that these difficulties be (?solved).

We have already told you that the situation in the region is (?extremely) difficult and tense. Abdic's followers opened fire at the members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina last night again and one more fighter was wounded. According to current reports, there are no incidents in Skokovi and the situation in that region is more or less normal.

Finally, let us say that sporadic activity by Serbian aggressor forces were registered on the (Grhovo-Srljan) height, as well as [words indistinct] last night and since this morning.

Briquemont's Mission Fails

LD0610225193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2200 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Zagreb, October 6 (TANJUG)—Commander of the U.N. Protection Force for Bosnia-Herzegovina (UNPROFOR), Gen. Francis Briquemont failed in his mediating efforts on Wednesday between the two conflicting Muslim currents in Western Bosnia, it was set out at UNPROFOR headquarters in Zagreb.

Clashes between members of the army loyal to Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic and forces of local Muslim leader Fikret Abdic have clashed for an entire week.

Followers of moderate Muslim politician Abdic, who urges end of Bosnian war, proclaimed in late September an autonomous province of Western Bosnia.

Gen. Briquemont and a delegation of the Muslim government, headed by Izetbegovic's Army Commander Rasim Delic, arrived to Western Bosnia from Sarajevo for talks with Abdic.

The planned meeting, however, did not materialize, an UNPROFOR spokesman said without specifying.

He announced another try would be given on Thursday.

The newly-formed news agency of Western Bosnia—ZBIA—previously reported that Abdic has made the meeting conditional on release of all the persons Izetbegovic's forces detained in the region.

UN Envoy Accuses Croatian Army of Massacre

LD0610192993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Geneva, 6 Oct (TANJUG)—Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the UN Human Rights Commission's special envoy, has sent a letter to Croatian Prime Minister Mate Granic expressing concern about reports on the Croatian Army's deliberate massacre of civilians in the [Serb Krajina] villages of Divoselo, Citluk, and Pocitelj, as well as their systematic destruction of homes, property, and livestock.

Mazowiecki also wrote that reliable sources, as well as an investigation by experts from his team, have established that the Croatian Army entered the above-mentioned villages on 9 September at 0600 [0400 GMT] and intentionally killed civilians. Sixty-seven bodies have been discovered so far, while a search is under way for another 48. The letter says forensic experts have confirmed that the murdered civilians were shot at point blank range.

Concluding his letter to Granic, Mazowiecki noted that, by doing this, the Croatian Army had committed a gross violation of human rights and the provisions of international humanitarian law, and that he expects the Croatian Government to conduct an investigation and establish individual responsibility in order to prevent such atrocities from recurring.

However, the letter, which was distributed to reporters at the Palais des Nations in Geneva today, fails to mention exactly who the victims of this outrage were. It is known that the above-mentioned villages are located in a UN-protected area and that they are predominantly Serb-populated.

Serbian Villages in Dalmatia Under Croat Fire

LD0610220193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2050 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Oct (TANJUG)—According to the ISKRA news agency, Croatian forces this afternoon opened relentless mortar fire on the wider area of the village of Baljci, near Drnis, on the northern Dalmatian front.

The Croats also shelled Serbian populated villages in the Benkovac sector of the front in an attack that commenced shortly after 1630.

The shelling, ISKRA reports, went on into the early evening hours and there have been no reports yet on possible casualties among members of the Serbian army of Krajina.

A statement issued by the main headquarters of the Serbian army of Krajina says that a Croatian training aircraft appeared in the sky over Karlovac and Duga Resa this morning, but it did not violate Krajina's airspace because the Serbian defenders opened fire on time.

Krajina Commander Says UN Failed To Protect Serbs

LD0710053293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0011 GMT 7 Oct 93

[Text] Knin, October 6 (TANJUG)—Commander of the army of the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.), Gen. Mile Novakovic said Wednesday that the U.N. peace force for former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) [UN Protection Forces] failed to fulfill its duty in the aggressions the Croatian Army conducted against the R.S.K. thus far.

Appearing on Knin television to talk about extension of UNPROFOR mandate, Gen. Novakovic said it was insane to demand disarmament of Krajina in such a situation.

"This we would surely not acede to," said Novakovic.

The R.S.K. was proclaimed in 1991 as a response of the Krajina Serbs to Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslav federation. Due to the ensuing conflicts between the R.S.K. and the Croatian authorities, which still think of the R.S.K. as its territory, the R.S.K. was declared a U.N.-Protected Area (UNPA) in the spring of 1992.

The mandate of the blue helmets, which expired in late September, was extended in early October for another six months. The resolution, extending the mandate, however, envisaged disarmement of Krajina.

Gen. Novakovic also pointed out that the R.S.K. did not oppose the peace plan drawn up by U.N. mediator Cyrus Vance, because, as he said, it did not prejudice political solutions, envisaged a peaceful solution to the conflict and borders along the separation lines as on January 3, 1992.

However, he said, if the Vance plan envisaged, and this was how it was now interpreted, a return of Krajina into Croatia, then the Serb people and army cannot and will not accept this.

RSK Calls For Defense After Adoption of Resolution

LD0610162893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1604 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Knin, Serb Krajina, Oct 6 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.) is convinced that the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 871 will encourage Croatia to launch an all-out war against the U.N.-Protected R.S.K., and has therefore decided to take adequate measures for its defence.

The U.N. Security council adopted the resolution on Monday, extending for another six months the mandate of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and the R.S.K. The resolution incorporated nearly all Croatian demands, including disarmament of the Serbs in the R.S.K. which was again described as an integral part of Croatia.

The R.S.K. has been formed three years ago by the local Serbs in those parts within the arbitrary communist-era

borders of Croatia where they are the major population, in response to Croatia's violent secession from Yugoslavia and downgrading of the Serbs, until then a full nation in the original Yugoslav federation, to an ethnic minority.

The R.S.K. Government invited its citizens of army age who have taken refuge outside their country to return and strengthen the country's defence capabilities. Nearly two-thirds of the Serbs from Krajina and Croatia have been displaced by the war or are working abroad.

The government said it would not be possible for the United Nations to enforce the resolution with UNPROFOR's help contrary to the will of the Serb people. There are 14,000 UNPROFOR troops in the R.S.K.

The R.S.K. has been a state for more than three years and will negotiate with Croatia only as such, says the R.S.K. Government in a statement addressed to its nationals on Wednesday.

Calls on Citizens To Prepare

LD0610130593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1222 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Knin, 6 Oct (TANJUG)—The government of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] has decided, following the adoption of the latest UN Security Council resolution, to take measures for the defense of its state territory and has called on its citizens to preserve peace and self-confidence.

In an appeal issued today to the citizens of the RSK the government demanded the urgent return of army conscripts living in exile in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and other European countries.

The government deems that this would considerably strengthen the country's defense, because about two-thirds of the Serbs from Krajina and Croatia are now living in exile or are temporarily employed abroad.

The government has called on all citizens of the RSK, regardless of party affiliation, "to gather together and in this crucial moment support the national program leading to the final victory." At the same time the government has expressed a conviction that the RSK will be defended by many volunteers, "as it has happened many times so far."

Being convinced that the latest UN Resolution 871 will encourage the Croatian authorities to carry out full mobilization and launch a total war against the RSK, the Krajina government has stressed that the United Nations will not be able to implement the resolution using UN Protection Forces troops against the will of the Serb people.

The RSK has been a state for four years and only from this position can the government negotiate with the Republic of Croatia, concludes the statement by which the government of the RSK addressed its citizens today.

Number of Refugees Reportedly Exaggerated

LD0610200693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1533 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Oct (TANJUG)—According to initial official reports there are approximately 29,000 refugees in Slovenia, not 70,000 as the Slovene authorities have persistently been trying to convince the international public for over a year.

The majority of refugees come from Bosnia-Herzegovina, according to the first census of refugees, which has just been completed. They have been accommodated in reception centers, facilities previously used by the Yugoslav People's Army, and with their relatives and friends.

The census results show that Slovenia is directly providing for fewer than 12,000 refugees. This has not prevented the government from regularly receiving international aid for 42,000 people, who had allegedly fled to Slovenia from the war in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. To provide for over 70,000 refugees over the past 18 months Slovenia has received several million dollars, 1.3 million ECU and hundreds of thousands of German marks. It has also received aid in goods, equipment, materials, and food.

Opinion Poll Shows Politicians Losing Popularity

LD0610175793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1638 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Ljubljana, Oct 6 (TANJUG)—Slovenian President Milan Kucan has gone down from the top of the popularity list after nearly two years, because of growingly frequent mentions of his name in connection with arms smuggling operations and other shady deals.

Results of an opinion poll published in the daily DELO show also a sharp drop in the popularity of most other prominent Slovenian politicians. The list for October is headed by an athlete—skiing ace Bojan Krizaj.

Prime minister Janez Drnovsek, too, has slid down the popularity ladder, to be replaced by the local entertainment star, Misa Molk.

Kucan's fall from the public's grace is believed to be due to popular dissatisfaction with the political and economic confusion in the state which violently seceded from Yugoslavia in 1991, and his involvement in scandals which have lately been popping out into the open.

The Slovenian media is accusing Kucan of involvement in arms trade for the interests of Croatia and Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The press says that Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic offered the Slovenian president half a million dollars for his help in one dirty deal alone.

Slovenia's violent secession from Yugoslavia in 1991 triggered a wave of violence which has brought in its wake the secession of Croatia, the bloodbath in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the disintegration of the former six-republic Balkan federation.

Federal

Simic Welcomes Extension of UNPROFOR Mandate

LD0710091693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2309 GMT 6 Oct 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, October 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Zeljko Simic said Wednesday that the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) assessed positively the decision of the U.N. Security Council for the UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) mandate to be extended in the former Yugoslavia for another six months.

In a statement to TANJUG, Simic said the decision reaffirmed the principles of the Vance plan for resolving the dispute between the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) and Croatia and recalled that Yugoslavia, together with the highest representatives of the international community, had accepted this plan from the very beginning.

The Vance plan envisages that the conflict between the RSK and Croatia be resolved by political means.

The RSK was proclaimed by the Serbs in the areas of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in which they make up the majority population in response to Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslav Federation.

The RSK was declared a U.N.-protected area (UNPA) in March 1992.

The interpretation of the Croatian diplomacy and of president Franjo Tudjman has no sound basis in the decision on mandate extension, but was solely aimed at producing propaganda effects to dilute the serious antidemocratic policy of the Croatian leadership, said Simic.

In this way, Croatia violated the underlying principle of the Vance plan and prejudiced political solution as regards the issue of the UNPA for which reason such an approach, which calls on all sides to observe truce, was unacceptable and unjustified for the FRY and for the international community.

Coupled with the fact that Croatia has on several occasions, with open military aggression on the U.N.-protected territories violated also the U.N. Security Council resolutions, said Simic, it also became clear that the latest political and diplomatic maneouver of its dilomacy would not help it to rid itself from the obligation to respect the plan nor from responsibility for the crimes committed against the citizens of Krajina.

For this reason the Yugoslav Government continued rightly to expect the international community and its highest institutions to respect the Vance plan as in it it sees the only way to weather the crisis, i.e., to create conditions for it to be resolved, instead of having constant war, said Simic.

He set out that the F.R.Y. would continue an active foreign policy, the basic aim of which would be stopping all conflicts and disputes and creating conditions to establish a lasting peace in all crisis spots of the former Yugoslavia.

Serbia

Seselj: 'Americans Planning To Overthrow Milosevic'

AU0710104993 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Oct 93 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Vojislav Seselj Tells Novi Sad SVET: Americans Are Planning To Overthrow Milosevic"]

[Text] "As regards Milosevic, I have no information that he is 'working for the Americans,' but in fact I have some opposite information that I have received from Washington. I received hints from there that the Americans are planning to overthrow Milosevic in spring and they are not going to give that up until they finally manage to overthrow him," Vojislav Seselj said in an interview to Novi Sad SVET.

In the same interview, Vojislav Seselj reiterated his attack against Radmilo Bogdanovic, this time accusing him of the massacres in Citluk and Divoselo:

"Radmilo Bogdanovic again sent Captain Dragan to Krajina and the latter then tried to persuade soldiers of a brigade there to appoint him commander. For that reason he was detained for an investigation there. Bogdanovic immediately reacted by sending the following message to Knin: 'Captain Dragan is ill, he is exhausted, send him back to Belgrade immediately.' They have duly sent him back. Captain Dragan serves Radmilo Bogdanovic for covering various dirty dealings. On the eve of that attack at Divoselo, Pocitelj, and Citluk, Bogdanovic had his men issue orders that mines in the mine fields in front of these villages should be defused, that tank obstacles should be removed, and that our tanks should be left without fuel. This was a deliberate action performed with a view to causing panic in Krajina. Unrests were caused in Banja Luka in coordination with this, as Krajina cannot successfully defend some of its regions without being helped by the Serbs from Bosanska Krajina," Vojislav Seselj asserted in the interview for SVET.

Chairman Views Implications of No-Confidence Vote

AU0610172793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Excerpt] The first session of the regular autumn sitting of the Serbian Assembly opens tomorrow. Zoran Arandjelovic, chairman of the Assembly, has held a news conference and announced that the first issue on the agenda would be a debate on the initiative of the Serbian Radical Party on a vote of no-confidence in the Serbian Government. Radovan Pantovic reports:

[Pantovic] I hope, Zoran Arandjelovic stressed, that all the decisions will be passed according to Assembly regulations. Commenting on the Radicals' initiative to remove the Serbian Government, he said that he was not sure that the government had lost the confidence of the deputies.

[Begin Arandjelovic recording] I think that the criticism of the government [changes thought] I am also one of the people who are critical of the negative and bad, and I believe that the government is responsible for some things that are happening to the extent that it has jurisdiction. However, tomorrow, after what I hope will be a principled debate and [words indistinct] decide whether this government is to stay or not. [end recording]

[Pantovic] Zoran Arandjelovic believes that a no-confidence vote at the moment would have other consequences, particularly when it comes to solving the Bosnian crisis, and that it would mean destabilization. At a more normal time, Arandjelovic said, the very act of removing the government would have different connotations. He said that had it not been for the sanctions and the international pressure, this government would not have been on the agenda.

Asked about the possibility of calling new elections, Arandjelovic said that he thought that at the moment elections would not produce any significant results, but added that they had not been ruled out.

Asked how the clash between the Socialists and Radicals would reflect on the work of the Assembly if the government received a vote of confidence, he said that everyone—regardless of their party affiliations—was equally responsible for the work of the Assembly, and those who obstruct it must keep their place and role in mind. [passage omitted]

Democratic Party To Support No-Confidence Motion

AU0610174793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] At his regular news conference, Vojislav Kostunica, chairman of the Democratic Party of Serbia, said that the new UN Security Council resolution meant additional pressure on the republic of Serbian Krajina and the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. Vladimir Nikolic reports:

[Nikolic] According to Kostunica, the reasons for passing such a resolution and the U-turn by some countries that now supported the U.S. views were that the failure of the Geneva talks encouraged those who wanted to take a firmer line with Serbia, and the developments in Russia, which gave Yeltsin the freedom to take an attitude toward the Yugoslav crisis that is somewhat closer now to that of his closest ally, the United States. Kostunica sees a third reason in the tendency in the West to find a global solution to the Yugoslav issues. That, according to him, is a throwback to the very beginning, as could be seen in the latest statements by Owen and Stoltenberg.

Negotiations, if there are any, between the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia will be rendered more difficult, as Krajina is not, nor ever has been, part of Croatia, according to the Vance plan or to the situation on the ground, Kostunica said, and added that such an approach would only encourage the Muslims and Croats. According to him, one should hope that the direct negotiations would continue, that armed clashes would not be renewed, and that Croatia would not attack the protected zones.

The outcome of the events in Russia has not removed all the causes. There are still disputes and disagreements between the central authorities and the federal units, disagreements among the many ethnic and religious communities, and the disputed relations between the authorities and the opposition, Kostunica said, and added that the only solution was to reach a consensus on the elections, which would lead to a peaceful solution of the crisis.

The Democratic Party of Serbia will tomorrow support the no-confidence motion in the government. The solution is either in forming a government that would have majority support or in holding new elections, said Kostunica.

The guest of the Democratic Party of Serbia, Predrag Drecun, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Peoples Party of Montenegro, stressed that on tomorrow's agenda at the Montenegrin Assembly there would also be the issue of confidence in the government. The prospects of removing the Montenegrin Government were, however, weaker in view of the number of deputies from the ruling party, Drecun said.

Parties React to Republican Government Crisis

LD0610223993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2103 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 6 (TANJUG)—The latest debate in the Serbian parliament on the call for a vote of no-confidence to the republican government, on Wednesday caused much reaction from the leading parliamentary parties in this Yugoslav republic.

The Serbian parliament will on Thursday [7 October] debate the proposal for a vote of no-confidence at the demand of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS), the biggest parliamentary opposition party.

The head of the parliamentary club of the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), Zoran Andjelkovic, said on Wednesday that the initiative for the vote of no-confidence aims to destabilize the republic.

Andjelkovic told local Radio Jagodina that the Serb radicals, "who are the extreme right wing," want to cause a parliamentary crisis. In this way they have shown total irresposibility for the interests of the Serb people, he said.

The ruling SPS has formed Serbia's minority government, as it does not have a parliamentary majority.

The socialists have 101 of the assembly's 250 seats, and the radicals are the second biggest party with 73 seats.

The radicals' call for the vote of no-confidence needs 126 votes to succeed.

Vuk Draskovic, the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) the second biggest oposition party in parliament, says that the current crisis can be resolved if a transitional government is formed with the aim of "halting inflation and lifting the sanctions."

Earlier, Draskovic had said that although his party considers that the current republican government is bad, it will not support the radicals in parliament because this would "mean an alliance with the fascists."

The president of the opposition Parliamentary Democratic Party, Dragoljub Micunovic, also said that the setting up of a transitional government is the only way to save Serbia.

In an interview to Belgrade daily BORBA, Micunovic said that if the government is overthrown, the holding of elections would not be in favour of either the socialists, the opposition, or the people, and that the most logical solution would be to review the proposal for forming a transitional government.

The head of the opposition Parliamentary Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS), Vojislav Kostunica, said on Wednesday that the way out of the current republican government crisis is either the "formation of a serious government which would have the support of the majority" or to hold new elections.

Kostunica told a press conference in Belgrade that his deputies would vote against the government of Prime Minister Sainovic on Thursday.

Prosecution Drops Charges Against Draskovic

LD0610170593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1647 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 6 (TANJUG)—Belgrade's public prosecutor on Wednesday dropped charges against Serbian opposition leader Vuk Draskovic, who had been charged with obstructing an officer in the discharge of his duties and inflicting grievous bodily harm.

Draskovic, the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, and his wife and fellow party executive Danica Draskovic, were arrested on June 2 after leading violent demonstrations in downtown Belgrade the day before, in which one police officer was killed and dozens of civilians and police were injured.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in July amnestied Draskovic for his role in leading the violent crowd.

A statement released by the district prosecutor and submitted to TANJUG said that all further action against Draskovic had been dropped because he could not be tried for a subsidiary criminal offence without it being based on the major offence for which he had been pardoned.

The party's Secretary-General Vladimir Gajic told TANJUG he had expected the charges to be dropped.

He added that "the authorities have realised a trial (of Draskovic) would harm them politically because the defence is so well prepared that a trial of Draskovic would go to Serbia's detriment."

Montenegro

Assembly To Discuss Confidence in Government

AU0710092893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 7 Oct 93

[Text] Today, at its first session of this fall, the Assembly of Montenegro should express its view on the demand by the People's Party of Montenegro that the assembly hold a vote of confidence in the government of Milo Djukanovic. If a discussion on the confidence in the government is accepted, the deputies will then decide whether this should be done at a regular or an extraordinary session of the assembly.

The Montenegrin Parliament will also discuss the draft criminal law. The opposition parties represented in the parliament have offered a whole package of topics for the first autumn assembly session.

Kosovo

Writers' Association Protests Imprisonment of Member

AU0710094093 Tirana ATA in English 0914 GMT 7 Oct 93

[Text] Tirana, October 7 (ATA)—The Writers' Association of Kosova expressed its indignation and public protest for the imprisonment of its member Murteza Nura, activist for human rights and freedoms, writer and ex-prisoner for many years because of his political convictions. The Association demands the immediate release of Murteza Nura and of all those who are searched for because of their political and public activity just as in the dark periods under Stalin and Tito.